IN TOUCH WITH THINGS

TOURIST ARTS AND THE MEDIATION OF MAORI/EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS

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He whatitiri ki te rangi, ko te Arawa ki te whenua

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ABSTRACT

This study re-evaluates theoretical approaches to the study of art forms and the mediation of social relationships in anthropology, through exploration of the emergence of tourist art forms in the Rotorua region of New Zealand, ancestral lands of the Arawa Maori people. Tourism began in Rotorua in the mid-nineteenth century, when Europeans visited to experience geothermal scenery, witness Maori social life and collect cultural artefacts as souvenirs. Returning to the scene of encounter to consider Maori/European negotiations surrounding the creation and acquisition of cultural artefacts, the research reconsiders items in museums and private collections in Britain and New Zealand as 'artefacts of encounter', to reveal ways in which acquisition was locally enabled and constrained. A case study of gifts presented to imperial authorities by Maori groups as a means of political negotiation points out the incommensurability of cross-cultural understandings of property, and the inequitable power relations that rendered such negotiations ineffectual. Throughout the twentieth century, the effects of European patronage relations upon Maori art forms are considered through comparative analyses of carved, woven and other souvenir forms and tour guiding services, concluding that whilst European patrons were frequently mean and belittling, their commissions opened up a space for a degree of innovation and experimentation not possible under customary Maori patronage. Engagements with new forms and technologies are explored through consideration of Maori adoption of photographic portraiture, popularised through the circulation of postcards since the late nineteenth century. Portraiture is compared to fibre arts, explored as a collective oeuvre formed between weavers linked through the transmission of skills passed down from the ancestral past into the present, a network which incorporates museum collections and non-Maori weavers. The concept of network is then deployed to query conventional approaches to art and material culture in anthropological thinking and museological practice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF PLATES

Frontispiece

Chapter One

Chapter Two

Chapter Three

Chapter Four

Chapter Five

(Note: unless otherwise stated, photographs are by the author, with the exception of figures 4.34, 4.35, 4.40, 4.41 and 4.42, which were taken by M. Pendergrast for the British Museum)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: HOW TO STUDY TOURIST ARTS?

> I went on looking at the filthy window above his head, and I thought, I must have *things*. I know a dirty window is an ancient, well-worn trope for intellectual dissatisfaction and scholarly blindness. The thing is, that the thing was also there. A real, very dirty window, shutting out the sun. A *thing*.
>
> *The Biographer's Tale,* A. S. Byatt

1.1 Introduction

The impetus for this study of tourist art forms and practises came from my interest in a recent turn to the material in anthropological thinking and practice. Following a move away from the collecting activities of the nineteenth century to the conceptually linguistic models of mid-twentieth century structuralism and post-structural concerns with deconstruction and process that followed in the latter half of the twentieth century; a tendency to reduce material things to mirrors of a-priori social identities, contexts, values and meanings has persisted in social theorising and anthropological and museological practise. Whilst post-structuralist debate continues to inform much anthropological inquiry, contributing to an ongoing marginalisation of concern with the material, recently, an increasing number of anthropologists have been concerned to argue to the contrary: that consideration of the workings of objects, including art forms, is central to an understanding of the workings of social relations, and hence to anthropology.

In this chapter I begin by reviewing relevant literature to illuminate paradigmatic shifts informing anthropological thinking and practice, from a late nineteenth century salvage paradigm that informed ethnological collecting, leading to a substantial (but by no means complete) marginalisation of syncretic forms from museum collections, including tourist arts; to structural and post-structural linguistic paradigms that continue to inform the reduction of all material things in general to

the social 'contexts' they are taken to 'represent'. Throughout these paradigmatic shifts, overtly syncretic art forms such as tourist arts have, until recently, been doubly marginalized.

Where tourist arts have been explored in current literature, approaches have on the whole been primarily conceptual, seeking to interpret and actively retrieve the cultural values and meanings invested in objects. Conversely, where recent anthropological theorising has been concerned to foreground the formal and material properties of objects, and to consider the agentive effects of these qualities on the mediation of social relations, cross-cultural art commodities such as tourist arts have on the whole remained sidelined. Where such syncretic forms have emerged from cross-cultural encounters that have also been colonising ones, as has been the case in tourism industries in imperial colonies, arguably a concern with the social and political impacts of these exchanges ought not be excluded from the analysis.

This thesis argues there is a need to combine these concerns, to explore tourist art forms in a manner that attends to both their formal and material specificities and to the historical contingencies of the locations of their emergence. To anchor recent theoretical concerns in anthropology of art with historical issues of colonisation, dispossession and disempowerment, in this thesis I am concerned to draw out connections between both the workings of objects and the workings of social relations on the one hand; and the way in which attachments between persons and things are figured (in other words of property relations) on the other. In colonising situations, where incommensurable understandings and contentions regarding the former (the 'proper' relationship between persons and things) may be inseparable from contestations in the latter (of entitlements in persons/things).

The Rotorua region of New Zealand offers an ideal setting in which to engage with syncretic material forms and practices, and to consider the multiple ways in which such things may have mediated Maori/European encounters from the mid nineteenth century to the present. In this region, local Maori groups established and developed a tourism industry that included hospitality, guiding services and the sale of souvenirs. Furthermore, local groups have been active in receiving distinguished European visitors to the region, frequently presenting their guests with generous amounts of gifts, some of which have since made their way into museum collections

in Britain. In this sense Maori actions (and their intended and unintended effects) have incurred upon salvage paradigms that encouraged the collecting of what were considered to be pre-contact or early post-contact forms, by insisting that transitional objects and practices remained central in the negotiation of Maori/European relations.

If recent proponents of a materialist turn have convinced us of the necessity of engaging with material things, and recent art-historical and anthropological critics have persuaded us of the importance of studying tourist arts in terms of their social and historical contingencies, the question remains how best to go about it? In this chapter, having provided a general background to my theoretical and methodological concerns, I draw inferences from the literature reviewed in relation to recent debates in the anthropology of art to make some opening suggestions in answer to this question, which is in a sense grappled with throughout the thesis. I then give a brief introduction to the location of my field of study, giving some social and historical background, and a practical explanation of methods, and lastly, provide a summary of the thesis as a whole.

1.2 Approaches to collecting and the study of social life

During the second half of the nineteenth century, anthropological thinking was informed by evolutionary discourses of racial hierarchy, diffusion and acculturation. By applying Darwin's theory of natural selection to social life, 'social Darwinism' informed a commonly held European belief of 'fatal impact' – that colonised peoples of imperial peripheries would be displaced, either by dying out, or by assimilating to the assumedly superior ways of white civilisation. Given the presumption that following contact with European civilisation, other peoples of the world would fast fall into decay, able only to manufacture inferior material cultures reflective of their decadent condition, this discourse informed rampant collecting practices in which ideally pre-contact forms were salvaged from decay and preserved in metropolitan museums as a matter of some urgency, a discourse subsequently known as the 'salvage paradigm'.

As discourses of otherness of the late nineteenth century hardened into increasingly rigid racial types, compared to the more fluid and diffuse thinking of

eighteenth century accounts (Douglas 1999; Smith 1960), syncretic or transitional forms were excluded from ethnological collecting practices with increasing stringency (Phillips 1999). Things that revealed engagement with modernity would disrupt pre-modern/modern boundaries, revealing instead the ability of all peoples to adapt, survive and even thrive without total encompassment by another social order (Thomas 1991), a revelation that would run counter to settler interests of obtaining and developing colonial lands and resources. Policing the boundaries between peoples, museum displays came to depict isomorphic relationships between bounded groups of people (human races) and their corresponding arrays of cultural artefacts (material culture) in unproblematic and straightforward fashion. By studying these collections and accompanying archival material – most alarmingly, the anthropometric photography of the period, directly implicated in the illustration, and hence evidencing of imagined evolutionary racial types as scientifically observed objective facts (Edwards 1992; Spencer 1992) – metropolitan civilisation could objectify and thus realise its position at the top of an artefactually contrived evolutionary ladder of others (Coombes 1994).

Whilst ethnologists sought objects that reified cultural difference in support of the categorical hierarchies of peoples museums constructed; tourists, artists and other popular collectors, in support of primitivist fantasies of escape from industrial modernity, sought the rare, the handmade, the unique and the singular – things they had come to long for as a result of industrialisation, mass production and alienation from the products of their labour (Stewart 1984). Despite these imaginings, commodity markets for ethnologists, modern artists, tourists and indigenous colonised people co-existed. And indigenous peoples responded to these markets, producing innovative forms and services for commercial exchange with foreigners – such as basket wares made by Woodlands Indians to sell to tourists at Niagara Falls (Phillips 1998), and tour guiding services to spectacular geothermal scenery in the volcanic region of Rotorua, New Zealand (Te Awekotuku 1981) – with a speed and acuity that has been insufficiently recognised through marginalisation of the study of tourist arts in the humanities (Phillips 1999).

Many items were produced expressly for tourists, ethnologists and other collectors, either on commission or more generally for sale. Frequently visitors'

tastes and preferences stimulated the creation of novel forms, which then also became part of local cultural repertoires (Neich 2001). Accordingly, despite the nostalgic idea of salvaging the untouched, the pristine, the authentic informed by prevailing evolutionary discourse, syncretic forms slipped through the collector's net, making their way into museums, private collections, as well as invigorating local material cultures, in greater numbers than had previously been acknowledged (Phillips 1995).

Although present in collections, these forms went unnoticed, lying latent through the functionalist and structural-functionalist paradigms of the 1920s and 1930s, when a concern with material things dropped out of anthropological agendas. The study of objects became relegated to a museum domain, where things were grouped and displayed as distinct sets of material culture that stood for or represented different human societies and their respective cultures. Instead, anthropologists studied the societies these things illustrated. Fieldwork studies of the Malinowskian School adopted conceptually abstract approaches to the study of society, conceived of in a Durkheimian fashion as a system in which social practices (exchange, kinship, religion, arts) were understood as functions of social systems. Each system was governed by underlying patterns and rules that gave social structure its coherence, and the anthropologist's task was to uncover these rules and hence understand the structure of the system.

From the 1950s and 1960s, theory and practice in anthropology became increasingly preoccupied with internalised mental rather than externalised material concerns, epitomised in the structural method of Levi-Strauss (1963; 1966). Structuralist approaches in anthropology drew heavily from a linguistic theory developed by Ferdinand de Saussure (1959). Saussure posited that language consists of everyday parole (speech) structured by an underlying langue (the grammatical rules that structure parole). Communication proceeds by way signs, made up of signifieds (mental images, ideas) encoded in the form of signifiers (sound images), which are transmitted to others who decode them thereby recovering their signified meaning. Physical relationships between signifiers and signified were considered to be arbitrary, as signifieds were not things or concepts 'out there' in the world, but mental images of them formed as ideas in the mind. Perceiving of language as coded

meanings that exist somehow in a dimension distinct from all non-linguistic things (objects or concepts), Saussurean semiology thus removed signs from a material world of consequences.

Extending Saussurian theories metaphorically to human culture, culture was conceived of as a language that could be interpreted. Levi-Strauss postulated the aim of structural anthropology was to uncover the langue, the universal rules structuring the deep unconscious of the human mind. Disengaged from what it is that people think they do, the analyst embarks upon a more aloof intellectual project of revealing the underlying meanings that actually structure their thought and action. Analysis could thus proceed through concepts constructed by the analyst (society, culture, gift exchange, property, art and such), concepts which in turn imply the qualities by which they are understood and therefore reified as 'things'. Like Saussurean signs, anthropological reifications became disembodied from social interaction in the world, and hence from embodied understandings of causality. Subsequent theorists of action and praxis (for example, Goffman 1959, 1974; Giddens 1979; and Bourdieu 1977, 1990) concerned to account for the paradox of both social agency and constraining structural order, considered social life in a similarly internalised, conceptual fashion. For example, of particular influence has been Bourdieu's abstract notion of 'habitus', an internalised set of dispositions (cultural schema) that form a normative context in which people act. When exerting individual 'choice' people tend towards the socially inculcated normative habitus, thereby contributing to sustaining an overall social order (Bourdieu 1977).

As mid-twentieth century metaphors of social order gave way to post-structural ones of process, the internal coherence of social practices as functions of an overall structure had become regarded as suspect rhetorical devices. Given that the 'langue' of culture lay deep in the unconscious mind, culture was slow moving and unresponsive to human agency or 'parole', structural theory had congealed society into an a-temporal state and was unable to account for historical change and issues of power relations. These modernist constructs needed deconstructing, and post-structural social theorists, such as Foucault (1973), Adorno and Horkheimer (1972) and Habermas (1971), provided analytical concepts with which to critically explore discourse and ideology, the workings of power and knowledge, and the

possibilities for agency and resistance. Engaging with the issue of longer-term changes of social orders, Sahlins offered his theory of the 'structure of the conjuncture' to account for the mutually transformative effect of cross-cultural encounters in the Pacific (1985). However, Strathern (1990) critiqued his approach for its assumption of European and Pacific perceptions of what constituted an historical event, raising issues of ontological commensurability and incommensurability that problematises any straightforward application of European social theories to anthropological work.

Issues of commensurability and incommensurability in cross-cultural encounters and understandings of historical change continued as Thomas (1991) argued Strathern's (1988) reification of a gift/commodity distinction (that one society, Mount Hageners of Papua New Guinea, is a gift type, and another, the West, is a commodity type) was a-historical and essentialist, yet enchanting nevertheless given anthropology's preoccupation with cultural relativism and difference. Whereas Strathern posited a radical discontinuity between the acquisitive possessiveness of western individuals and Melanesian epistemological perceptions of partible personhood in which things are mutually constitutive of persons; Thomas argued for the existence of parallel processes of appropriation each way, and drew attention to the historical dynamics of these processes.

Also arguing for a deconstruction of gift/commodity distinctions, Weiner (1992) argued the Maussian norm of reciprocity that formed the basis of the distinction was a colonial construct. Subverting Maussian exchange theory, Weiner constructed her own theory of 'keeping-while-giving' to account for the generation of inalienable wealth through exchange, a practice, she argued, was common throughout the Pacific. Included in her inalienable category were Maori ancestral taonga (treasured heirloom-like valuables that pass along descent lines, for example stone, bone and wooden weaponry). By virtue of their material durability, these valuables transcend mortal life spans maintaining physical relationships between generations of people and affording a sense of permanent presence in the world. Although Weiner's notion of inalienable wealth has been criticised in Maori (Tapsell 1997) and Melanesian settings (Mosko 2000), an important aspect of her argument is that she shifts attention from conceptual categories of things (gifts, commodities) to a

consideration of their specific material qualities. This at a time when Strathern and other anthropologists' theoretical formulations remained highly abstract, and post-structural critics of enlightenment rationality, including Lacan (1977), Baudrillard (1983), Derrida (1972; 1982) and Lyotard (1984), instead highlighted the play of instable meanings and the centrality of discursive ideologies in constructing social realities, sublimating all that was material into ideas.

1.3 Approaches to the study of commodities and consumption

If the late twentieth century can be characterised as a period of increased (and increasingly inequitable) interconnectivity in which vastly accelerated flows or 'scapes' of goods, money, people, services and information have appeared (Appadurai 1990; 1995; Featherstone 1991; Friedman 1991; 1992; Lasch and Urry 1994) a significant avenue for such flows has been commodity consumption. Capturing the attention of a number of anthropologists, including Douglas and Isherwood (1979), Bourdieu (1984), Appadurai (1986), Kopytoff (1986), Miller (1987; 1994), McCracken (1988) and Howes (1996), concern with the cultural dimension of global commodity consumption indicates a substantial renewal of interest in the study of material forms in anthropology. This interest in turn highlights a contradiction between the linguistic metaphors and internalised conceptual abstractions of postmodern social theorising, and day-to-day human interdependency upon a multitude of material things to get by.

Whilst people may have become alienated from the products of their labour through the industrialisation of production, these studies draw attention toward the mutually constructive processes by which mass commodities become transformed into subjectively meaningful things (Miller 1987), endowed with personal characteristics and expressive of a social politics of value or taste (Bourdieu 1984). Personalised things play a dialectical role the constitution of our selves as subjects, and mediate our social relations with others. In this sense things have 'social lives' (Appadurai 1986). We might productively explore their 'biographies' (Kopytoff 1986) and establish the different meaningful phases of their existence as they move across geographical and cultural borders, mediating various social relationships and becoming caught up in the politics of value.

A significant area of commodity consumption is the global tourism industry. A number of generalised sociological syntheses on tourism and globalisation emerge from around the 1970s, such as Davis's assertion that tourism formed a kind of 'leisure-imperialism' (1978); Rossel's suggestion that tourism manufactures 'exotica' (1988); and MacCannell's interpretation of tourism as a search for 'authenticity' in other, presumably 'non-modern' locations in response to the experience of industrial modernity (1976; 1984). In such literature, tourism has on the whole been construed as entirely negative, involving a damaging commodification of culture that results in an unrealistic staging of manufactured 'exoticism' and the destruction of 'authenticity' (although these notions remained insufficiently problematised) (Greenwood 1978; Turner and Ash 1975; MacCannell *ibid;* and others). Others apply postmodern theories to account for tourism as a global condition, for example Selwyn (1996), interpreting tourist displays as symbolic representations of otherness, Baudrillardian simulacra in which the 'play' of tourism settings becomes better than the 'reality' of life[1]. Even the tourists are postmodern, as 'post-tourists' have learned to deconstruct these tropes of authenticity, exposing flaws and inaccuracy in displays and revealing hosts to be corrupt retailers of a dubious ethnicity (Feifer 1985).

Similar post-structural deconstructions of ideology and exposures of staged ethnicity and imperial hegemony have been deployed in postcolonial discourse on the subject of nineteenth and early twentieth century imperial exhibitions, settings in which many peoples from European colonies toured to metropolitan and settled-colonial urban locations to take place in vast industrial displays (for example Greenhalgh 1988; Coombes 1994; Dibley 1997; Maxwell 1999; Hooper-Greenhill 2000; Levell 2000). Adopting elements from influential postcolonial critics such as Said (1978), Foucault (1973) and Bhabha (1994) generally speaking these authors criticise the exhibition of 'live human subjects' on the grounds that relationships fostered between exhibition organisers, colonial photographers and the general exhibition going public on the one hand, and peoples from colonial peripheries participating in displays on the other, were relations of dominance through which

[1] A notable exception to these postmodern generalised deconstructions is Rojek (1985), who observed the assumption of 'play' ignores the time-tabling, ordering and structuring of leisure time around work and hence industrial relations.

'the colonial other' could be retailed in imperial spectacles of exoticist stereotype. Metropolitan audiences, in a touristic act of consumption, could reproduce their fictional fantasies of exotic others without leaving home. Like objects in anthropological analyses, in such accounts participants in colonial and imperial exhibitions become passive reflections of the ideological contexts that determine them, unknowable except for the purposes of illustrating a discourse on knowledge, power and authoritative truths that postmodern analysts expose in a manner that sometimes reads as an intellectually elitist demystification or exposure of false consciousness.

Arguably in earlier periods of post-colonial discourse it was politically necessary to insist on a one-sided determination of representations of marginalized peoples by imperial powers, as did Smith (1960) and Said (1978), to draw attention to the power relations that have enabled, and continue to enable the expropriation of lands, resources and profits from various colonial or formerly colonial locations. Yet from these conditions we ought not then infer that participation in tourism, touring and exhibiting constitute a false consciousness of power relations, an enforced participation in self-stereotypification, nor an ironic mimicry of colonialist tropes constructed entirely in the European imagination. Reducing touristic forms and practices to the retail of stereotype and fantasy endorses the discursive hegemony of colonialism (even if that discourse is now primarily negative), whilst doing little to acknowledge the possibility that new forms and practises emergent at tourist/indigenous interstices may to some extent have enabled visitor and settler-colonial incursions to be accommodated.

Other authors trace the movement of various commodity art forms – from the primitivist appropriations of European modernists, cubists and surrealists (Torgovnick 1990), to souvenirs collected by imperial tourists (see various contributors to Hitchcock and Teague 2000; and Phillips and Steiner 1999), to connoisseurs' acquisitions of ethnic arts (Errington 1998) and ethnology professionals collecting for museums (O'Hanlon and Welsch 2000) – each adopting a concern with the 'social lives' or 'biographies' of things, uncovering the meanings invested in them as they circulate and are consumed in various locations, and exposing the politics of representation this entails. Not only may such approaches

emphasise meaning over materiality, they may frequently draw our attention away from cross-cultural interchange between producers and consumers to focus on metropolitan locations and discourse.

To avoid lopsided accounts, ethnographic case studies can provide in-depth analyses of the negotiated nature of tourist art production. Graburn (1976; forthcoming), Neich (1977; 1983; 2001), Te Awekotuku (1981; 1991), Jules-Rosette (1984), Smith (1989), Jonaitis (1993), Phillips (1998) and Townsend-Gault (2004) are notable examples that trace the historical emergence of innovative commodity art forms, recognising the role of cultural brokers in their creation, and the strategic importance of these forms and practises for marginal groups. Where such literature has been concerned to rescue tourist arts from their dismissal by salvage paradigms and discourses of authenticity by positively re-evaluating commodity art forms and tourism practices as strategies of resistance to colonial marginalisation (for example, Te Awekotuku 1981; Kleinert 1994; Phillips 1998), it becomes important to stress that not all artistic forms and practices offer up such strategic opportunities. Some may have been entirely ineffectual in this regard, others still may have given rise to entirely unpredicted and unintended effects, hence it may be more appropriate to explore the subject of tourism and related artistic forms and practices along multiple trajectories of cause and effect, allowing for the possibility of degrees of social and historical autonomy beyond colonial experience. In a detailed comparative analysis of syncretic art forms in the settler-colonial locations of Australia, New Zealand and Canada, Thomas (1999) observes indigenous peoples have neither been fully absorbed by, nor live entirely apart from modernity. Novel artistic practices created in the present may be marked by colonial experiences (and some actively seek to condemn them), yet they may also be constituted by ancestral acts that are not encompassed by modernity, nor determined by colonial history. This position avoids attributing too much influence to imperial and postcolonial global commodity art markets as a force for change (whether that change is figured as positive or negative).

Although this body of literature has on the whole been concerned to re-engage with material objects in social life, the primary concern has remained one of elucidating the social values and interpreting the cultural meanings people invest in things. This may be to give too much emphasis over to meaning, whilst paying too

little attention to a consideration of formal and material specificity. The effect of overlooking the latter is to render materiality superfluous, reducing objects to passive reflections of the contexts through which they pass, without adequately allowing for the possibility that things might act upon, or be generative, or even disruptive of context. What would be a fertile alternative? Is it possible to re-inhabit past touristic encounters, exploring them as materially mediated spheres of action, spheres that may not have been entirely shared, but may have overlapped momentarily; a situation not of total encompassment nor of incommensurability but of something partial being momentarily achieved, as Strathern (1999) has recently suggested of anthropological fieldwork encounters? Can we consider afresh the formal properties and material specificities of the art forms and practices that mediate such encounters, so as to engage in a more palpable mode of inquiry than linguistic theories and textual analyses have allowed? Recently, several anthropologists have put forward some exciting theoretical alternatives.

1.4 Approaches to the study of art forms and agency

As with objects more generally, interest in an anthropological study of art has also been marginalized by structural and post-structural paradigms. A return to the study of art objects is signalled by Forge (1973), although his and subsequent analyses have been located in typically tribally, or formerly tribally organised groups (for example, the various contributors to Coote and Shelton 1992). Until recently, such anthropological studies of art remained primarily concerned with the elucidation of culturally distinct aesthetic values, ways of seeing and communicative meanings (for example Morphy 1994). Hence although no longer relegated to a museum domain, anthropological concerns with art objects remained sidelined within the discipline as a whole, focussed on highly localised and culturally relative settings rather than attending to the workings of art in any social location.

During the same period, definitional and categorical debates heated up between artists, curators, critics and collectors following the exhibition *'Primitivism' in 20th Century Art,* held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1983 (Rubin 1984; McEvilley 1984; Danto 1982, 1988; Wolff 1987; Clifford 1988; Price 1989), debates which directly influenced other art-world locations including urban New

Zealand (Mead 1984, 1985, 1990; Te Awekotuku 1986; Panoho 1992; Pound 1994). Where anthropologists contributed to these debates, their accounts were primarily concerned to explore postmodern issues of appropriation, the politics of representation, and the investment of meaning and value in art (Vogel 1991; Steiner 1994; Marcus and Myers 1995; MacClancey 1997; Thomas 1999; Myers 2001). Despite anthropology's 'double location' (Strathern 1999) between ethnographic fieldwork and a field of analysis, writing and dissemination, in which anthropologists respond and contribute to wider theoretical frameworks, an epistemological separation between materially mediated fieldwork experiences and predominantly linguistic and textual approaches to the study of social life remained surprisingly persistent.

Concern with the material specificity of things, their sensuous qualities and the ways in which people interact with these qualities so often submerged into reified categories and analytical abstraction, is re-emerging in the work of a growing number of scholars who, following Strathern (1990) criticise the reduction of objects to reflections of the social, political and economic contexts in which they are embedded. In a radical foregrounding of the social agency of material things, Gell developed a theory of art and agency that challenges our assumptions of what might count as 'art' anthropologically speaking (1998; building on previous publications including 1992, 1993, 1996 and others). Whilst the notion of agency had been raised by Mitchell (1996), and alluded to loosely by Layton (1981), provocatively Gell posited that art is not about meaning, or putting objects into social contexts, or about representation, but about the workings of social relations, which are made manifest through action, through doing.

Like persons, Gell considers art objects as 'agents' embodying various capacities to act upon and bring about social effects in the world. Agents are causal beings that act upon 'patients', the recipients of the effects of action. Adopting these concepts, Gell avoids the problematic bias of a person/object distinction normative in western thinking, as this distinction assumes agency is essentially a human capacity. By dispensing with the assumption that agency must be linked to will or intention (and hence to mental capacities), Gell allows for the co-presence of agentive persons and things in a social field.

Agency is mediated by 'indexes', which can be art objects, a concept akin to Strathern's notion of 'personified objects' (1988). 'Artists' are the creators of indexes, who may also be vehicles for the agency of others, such as patrons. Agency can thus proliferate through multiple agentive relationships. In this sense artworks and other kinds of objects can be regarded as material extensions of the agency of those who create or utilise them, a similar concept to Strathern's notion of Melanesian 'dividuals' or 'partible persons' and Wagner's notion of 'fractal personhood' that conceive of objects as body parts, or spatially and temporally extended personhood (Strathern 1988; Wagner 1991).

Artworks, along with all the other things people interact with to attract, entrance, seduce, intimidate or otherwise engage others, form a 'technology' of human social, and anti-social, interaction. The latter point is significant as it informs Gell's rejection of a preoccupation with aesthetics and meaning in anthropology of art. In many social locations, such as among formerly warring tribal groups in various parts of the Pacific, artworks were not intended to elicit admiration of aesthetic beauty but to operate as technologies of intimidation that would ideally coerce recipients into submission. His examples included the defensive effect of disorientating, apotropaic Marquesan and Maori bodily and facial tattoo designs (1993; 1998), and the captivating virtuosity of Trobriand canoe prow and dance paddle designs that cause Kula exchange partners to surrender their valuables (1992; 1998).

Importantly, Pinney and Thomas (2001) observe, Gell's theory does not reduce objects to passive reflections of social relations and contexts, as the formal properties of designs play a crucial role in mediating their agency and effects. Neither is his position materially reductive, as designs could not operate independently of a shared field of social expectations and understandings. However, his rejection of aesthetics may be overstated in that we may need to know something of the shared values and expectations in any particular location, including shared aesthetic values, to be able to recognise and perceive the magically captivating effects of technical virtuosity at work.

Gell's outright rejection of concern with semantic content may also be exaggerated. To reject a concern with the meaning of Maori ta moko (tattooing

designs) for example, would imply that in all social locations these designs were intended to inflict terror and effect psychological defeat, as if prior to the uptake of Christianity and pacification people lived in a world of constant antagonism surrounded by enemies. Ta moko also embody genealogical information (Robley 1896) and may assist in its memorisation. Adept recall of genealogical knowledge forms an important skill in public oratory (Salmond 1975), which in turn enables a speaker to influence group consensus and attain effective leadership capacities. Genealogical information also pertains to social entitlements in ancestral lands and hereditary resources collectively held by Maori descent groups[2]. It also mediates social recognition and senses of belonging between members of the same descent lines, rather than social antagonism. These many areas, as well as skills in martial arts and warfare, formed fundamental aspects of pre-European and nineteenth century Maori sociality (Cory-Pearce 2005).

With the introduction of Christianity into various parts of the Pacific from the early nineteenth century came the uptake of imported, manufactured clothing (Colchester 2003). Gell's notion of tattooing in the Pacific as 'wrapping in images', protective designs that defend vulnerable bodily surfaces and relate to the surrounding political milleux (1993), as well as his notion of the captivating attraction of complex surface patterning (1998), have provided fertile groundwork for considering the ways in which peoples of the Pacific engaged with patterned and coloured cloth and clothing introduced by missionaries, and its possible social effects (see the various contributors to Colchester 2003, ed; Kuchler and Were 2005, eds).

Maori tattooing, and subsequently clothing, as forms of surface patterning mediate different effects depending upon the relationship between bearers and recipients, which I have referred to as their 'inside' and 'outside' effects (Cory-Pearce 2005). Intimidating personal and group appearances achieved through various forms of wrapping – from carved skins and feathered garments, to carved and feathered war canoes and fortified settlements, to the particular material and formal qualities selected in introduced cloth and clothing and animated by forceful haka (posture dance) – ideally evoke awe and intimidation when aimed at 'outsiders' (that

[2] As given in late nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial land court hearings, available in the Maori Land Court Minute Books collection, New Zealand and Pacific Collection, Auckland University Library.

is other groups, who may be distant kin, non-kin and competitors and adversaries). Conversely, relationship with, and hence understanding of genealogical information and ancestral history that may be carved or woven into things produces mutual recognition and evokes the warmth of connection experienced when descendants greet ancestral generations physically coming together through things, often expressed through touch, by te hongi (the pressing of noses and sharing of hau, of breath) and with tangi (the pooling of tears).

Christianity impacted considerably upon political milleux in the Pacific, observed by Gell in relation to body art (1993). In Maori settlements, impressive and intimidating ancestral carvings from the exterior stockades of fortified pa (settlements) were frequently relocated to adorn frontal and interior aspects of meetinghouses (Tapsell 2000), where the 'inside' effects of descent group mutual recognition became at least as significant, if not more so than their antagonistic 'exterior' effects, suggesting meaning cannot be elided with the broad sweep that Gell assumes. Hence, even though Gell drew upon work by Neich and Campbell to exemplify aspects of his theory, both have published subsequent works that continue to emphasise the importance of semantic content in Maori (Neich 2001) and Trobriand art forms (Campbell 2002).

Rather than abandoning all concern with meaning, we could instead reconsider how it is that the relationship between materiality, meaning and processes of signification have been theorised (Cory-Pearce 2002). Recently, Keane remarked that the reduction of the material in social theorising to little more than passive illustrations of meanings, identities or contexts persists because we continue to treat signs as merely the clothing of meanings that need to be stripped bare, thus dematerialising signs and privileging meaning over action, consequence and possibility (Keane 2005). In a cogent critique of Gell's theory, Keane cautions proponents of a recent turn to the material in anthropology not to merely reverse the linguistic privilege, thereby inadvertently reproducing the same dichotomy. Instead meaning and signification need to be held in fertile tension.

Accepting Gell's rejection of a Saussurian model of signification, in which the relation between signifier and signified was assumed to be arbitrary, and arguing instead that the material, visual and sensuous properties of things do influence the

way in which they come to be understood in the mind and articulated verbally (Gell 1998: 6), Keane takes Gell's argument further. Not only does a Saussurian model provide a poor model for understanding objects, Keane suggests it is not even a good account of the workings of language as it fails to realise the role linguistic practices play in the objectification of things (2005: 13). He refers us instead to Peirce's model of signification, which insists upon the location of signs in a material world of concrete circumstances where they are vulnerable to historical contingency (Peirce 1955). Drawing upon this model, Keane argues that signs relate to objects on the basis of resemblance, of iconicity. But given that all things possess multiple qualities 'bundled up' in their very materiality, things embody the potential to suggest future possible resemblances, uses or interpretations. Determining which features count towards resemblance involves larger issues of power relations and the construction of social values. As suppressed qualities remain latent, inconicity remains a matter of potential as things embody multiple possible resemblances that may become realised in changing social, political and historical circumstances.

Reduction of material things to the social relations in which they are embedded has also occurred in anthropological approaches to the study of property relations. Hann (1998) highlights problems with the universal application of Marxist analytical frameworks and a general lack of concern with emic economic principles, although Polyani (1944), Gluckman (1965), Humphrey (1983), Gudeman (1986) and Strathern (1988) are notable exceptions. Strathern has consistently denied the relevance of western notions of property and authorship to Mount Hagen people of Papua New Guinea (1988; 1996; 1998; 1999 and others). Her notion of partible personhood – which posits that Melanesian personhood is unbounded and can circulate via things (personified objects) – to a certain extent anticipated Gell's notion of the workings of all art forms as spatially and temporally extended body parts. Although Strathern's theorisation remained emic and abstractly disengaged from the formal properties and material specificities of things that mediate their attachment to persons, combining their approaches enables us to engage with both concerns.

Art, like property, is usually attached to someone or some group – an artist, patron, collector, inheritor, dealer or some other kind of creator or recipient whose

capacities perhaps brought the art form into being and may be materialised (objectified, indexed) by its presence. Yet involved in this process there are multiple social relations, networks that for some kind of property right or authorial status between persons and things to be established need to be cut, dividing people and things off from one another (Strathern 1996). Issues of authorship relate to claims to ownership, an area in which anthropological interest has recently increased (Coombe 1998). Posey's work amongst South American rainforest communities has been concerned to ensure the economic benefits of indigenous knowledge are returned from corporations to indigenous groups, however he assumes returns will be equally distributed (Posey 1990; Posey and Dutfield 1996). Harrison's research on intangible properties and modes of managing and distributing knowledge in Melanesia and elsewhere (1992; 1995; 1999) suggests entitlements can remain among privileged groups, complicating the ethical agenda of cultural property discourse in practice. In fact, Brown's article on the advisability of cultural copyright (1998) stimulated fifteen lengthy responses, indicating that proprietary issues have become a contentious and highly debated topic.

Concern with property and issues of appropriation restores a political dimension to anthropological studies of art, agency and colonial histories of exchange, acquisition and dispossession, explored in this thesis through an in-depth account of the emergence of tourist arts in the Rotorua region of New Zealand from around the mid nineteenth century, providing a case study of materially mediated indigenous/settler relations. Adopting Gell's theory of agency, Keane's model of iconicity and Strathern's problematisation of person/object boundaries and property relations, I depart from primarily linguistic social theories and text-based analyses of the late twentieth century, without simply reversing the bias from linguistic to material. Instead my concern is to engage with a range of colonial sources – visual, material, oral and textual – adopting an 'art-historical' approach to collections that is anthropological in that it does not assume a commensurable epistemological status of what might count as 'art' (Losche 1999) or 'image' (Wright 2004) in any particular cultural location. To re-immerse analysis in a world of materially mediated social encounters, in which objects play a palpable, constitutive role in the mediation of

causal agency and social relations, a return to anthropological fieldwork methods appears promising.

1.5 Fieldwork location and methods

To say fieldwork has become multi-sited, that there exist no bounded cultural groups, no singular societies to be studied in distinct locations (Marcus and Fischer 1986; Friedman 1994; Marcus 1995; Clifford 1997) is perhaps by now obvious. However there remains a pragmatic need to ground research in a particular location, whilst at the same time acknowledging that those present in a location (including anthropologists) imbue that place with complex layers of significance, often in contest with others (Abu-Lughod 1991; Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Attention to the historical coming-into-being of a location, and of localised customs and beliefs thus forms an important dimension to research, revealing the continual investments people make in order to maintain sustained relationships with each other and with place.

The primary fieldwork location of this study is the Rotorua region, located in the centre of the north island of New Zealand, where I lived for sixteen months from July 2001 to October 2002[3] (figure 1.1). Whilst I engage with objects, photographs and manuscripts from a number of institutional and private collections in Britain and New Zealand throughout the thesis, these collections originate from or can be directly associated with people, places and practices of the Rotorua region. Notable for hot springs, spectacular geothermal scenery and volcanic phenomena, Rotorua emerged as a significant tourist locale from around the 1870s. Today a substantial tourism industry, comprising outdoor leisure activities, geothermal scenery, and Maori villages, arts and entertainments, continues to shape the regional landscape (figure 1.2).

This region forms part of the ancestral lands of Te Arawa, a confederation of iwi, or large descent groupings, that trace their descent from the Arawa canoe, which brought the Arawa people from a place known as Hawaiki to this region around the middle of the fourteenth century. Regional oral histories recall an incident in Hawaiki when two brothers Tamatekapua and Whakaturia, descendants of

[3] This was my third residence in the country, having previously lived in Auckland in 1996-1997 when I was based at Auckland Museum, returning to conduct further research in July – September 2000.

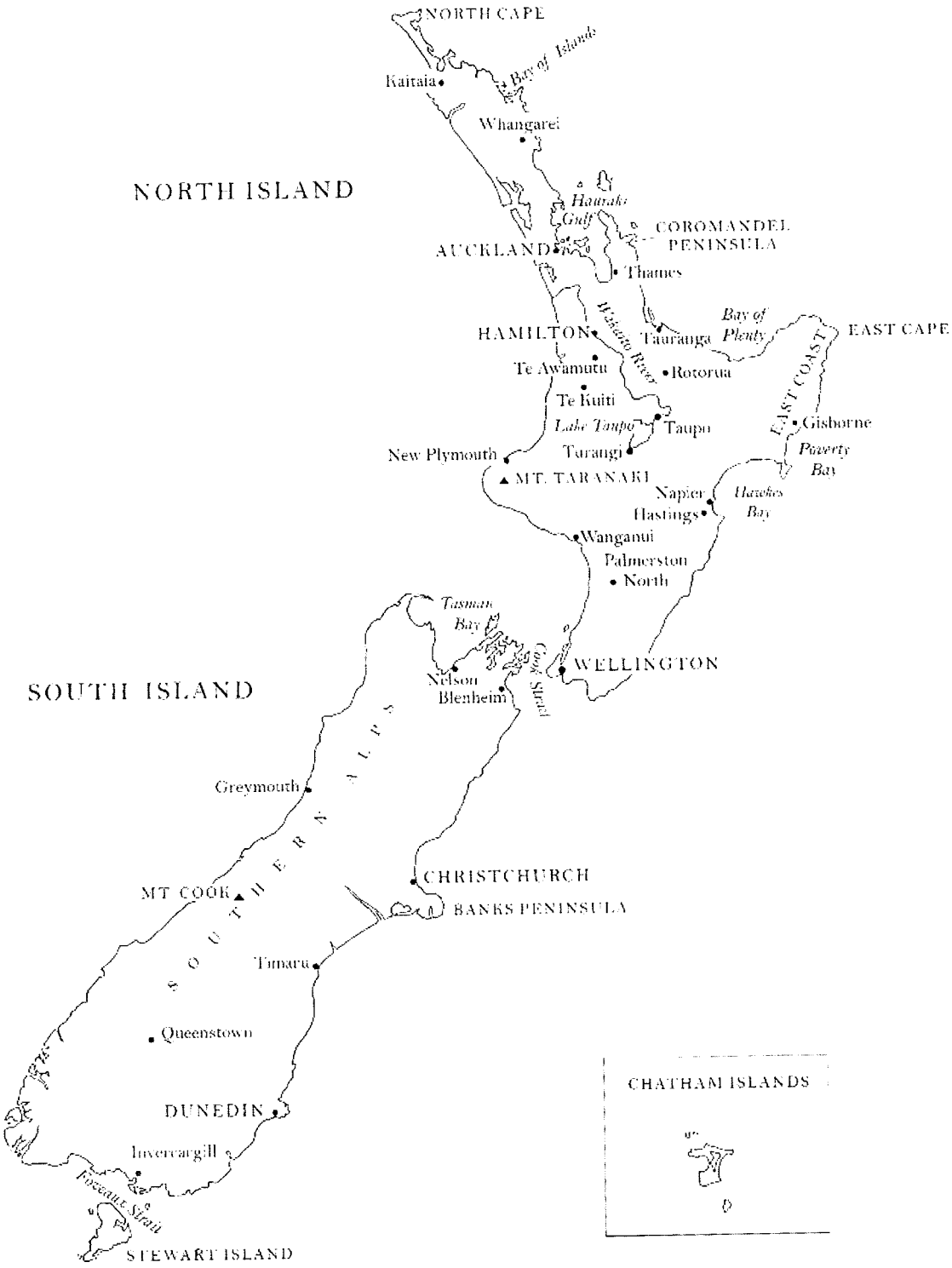

Figure 1.1 Map of New Zealand, after Hans Rashbrook (Starzecka 1996: 171)

Figure 1.2 Map of the Rotorua region showing key tourism services, 2002 (Produced by Tourism Rotorua, a national tourism body)

Houmaitawhiti, used stilts to steal breadfruit, a treasured food, from a tree belonging to Uenuku. Although caught red-handed they escaped, adding to the insult suffered by Uenuku and his people. Uenuku planned an attack on the people of Houmaitawhiti, recalled in the ngeri (chanted composition with posture dance) beginning "Ko te whakaariki, ko te whakaariki!"[4] A shortened version of this ngeri continues to be performed today, whenever visitors come onto an Arawa marae (ceremonial courtyard), rousing the descendants of Houmaitawhiti, the Arawa people, and challenging the visiting group.

The scale of imminent confrontation was such that some of Houmaitawhiti's people, known as Ngati Oho, the descendants of Ohomairangi, decided to leave Hawaiki on board a great canoe captained by Tamatekapua and navigated by the powerful tohunga (ritual expert) Ngatoroirangi of the Ngati Tuwharetoa people. During the journey, Tamatekapua is reputed to have slept with Ngatoroirangi's wife Kearoa. In anger Ngatoroirangi summoned a powerful storm known as Te Korokoro-o-te-Parata (the throat of Parata), which threatened to capsize the vessel. Some say during the storm a mango, a great shark, was sighted; others liken the canoe's struggle through the storm to the strength and agility of a shark. Either way, it is said that from this point the vessel became known as Te Arawa, the shark.

The Arawa canoe made its final landfall at a place named Maketu on the east coast of the north island, Te Ika-a-Maui (see figure 1.1). The people onboard travelled inland exploring, naming and thereby claiming areas to settle. Ihenga, grandson of Tamatekapua, is attributed with discovering and naming many features of the landscape. When hunting kiwi, Ihenga's kuri (a species of dog), named Potakatawhiti, became thirsty and searched for freshwater. They came across a lake, which Ihenga named Te Roto-iti-kite-a-Ihenga (the small lake seen by Ihenga) claiming the area for his people. Today this lake is known in abbreviated form as Lake Rotoiti (see figure 1.2). Further inland, they came across a second, larger lake, which Ihenga named after his uncle, Te Roto-rua-nui-a-Kahumatamoemoe (the second, large lake of Kahumatamoemoe), known today as Lake Rotorua (see figure 1.2).

[4] Today this ngeri is colloquially referred to as the Arawa 'national anthem'. An abbreviated form is given and translated in chapter four (page 189), as performed during ceremonial welcomes to distinguished visitors.

Ihenga and Potakatawhiti passed on to a settled area on the edge of Lake Rotorua known as Wai-o-Horo. Noticing a tuahu (altar) there, Ihenga built another one using aged, rotten wood to appear older. This tricked the prior inhabitants into believing Ihenga and his people had established themselves on the land previously, enabling them to claim and settle the area. Some time later Hine-te-Kakara, Ihenga's daughter, drowned in the waters off Wai-o-Horo. A great tangihanga (funerary rite) was held, after which Ihenga placed a rahui (restriction of access) on the area to indicate its tapu (restricted, potent, set apart) condition. He renamed the area Te Mutu-a-Hine-te-Kakara (the ending of Hine-te-Kakara), which in time became shortened to Ohinemutu (see figure 1.2). The tapu was so great the rahui stayed in place for hundreds of years. Currently, in this area is a cemetery named I-Waho-o-Urueka where members of the Maori Battalion who fought in World Wars One and Two are interred, and in this sense the area remains tapu to this day.

Layering of the landscape with ancestral names continued through subsequent generations and in the Rotorua region today many such names continue to be used, imbuing places with a significance that predates European arrivals and continually recalls ancient ancestral times in the present. Places could be named more than once, as different descent groups made use of overlapping regions and resources. When speaking during a hui (ceremonial gathering), selecting a particular term can be a way of indicating the speaker's descent line affiliations, and expressing a claim to the place or topic of discussion. Conversely, speakers may select ancestral names used by another group to pay compliment to their mana (ancestral standing, authority) over the area. This performative fluidity of expression, adeptly tailored to suit the political subtleties of each particular occasion becomes lost, or at least lessened, in textual accounts and mapping of the generalised kind I provide here.

Generally speaking the Arawa rohe (confederated descent group region) is understood today to stretch from Maketu on the coast to the volcanic mountain of Tongariro inland, hence the regional saying 'mai Maketu ki Tongariro' (figure 1.3). As a confederation of descent groups, Te Arawa comprises many descent groupings known as iwi, meaning bone and often translated as tribe; hapu, meaning pregnant and often translated as clan; and whanau, meaning to give birth and commonly translated as extended family (figure 1.4). The generative metaphors are significant

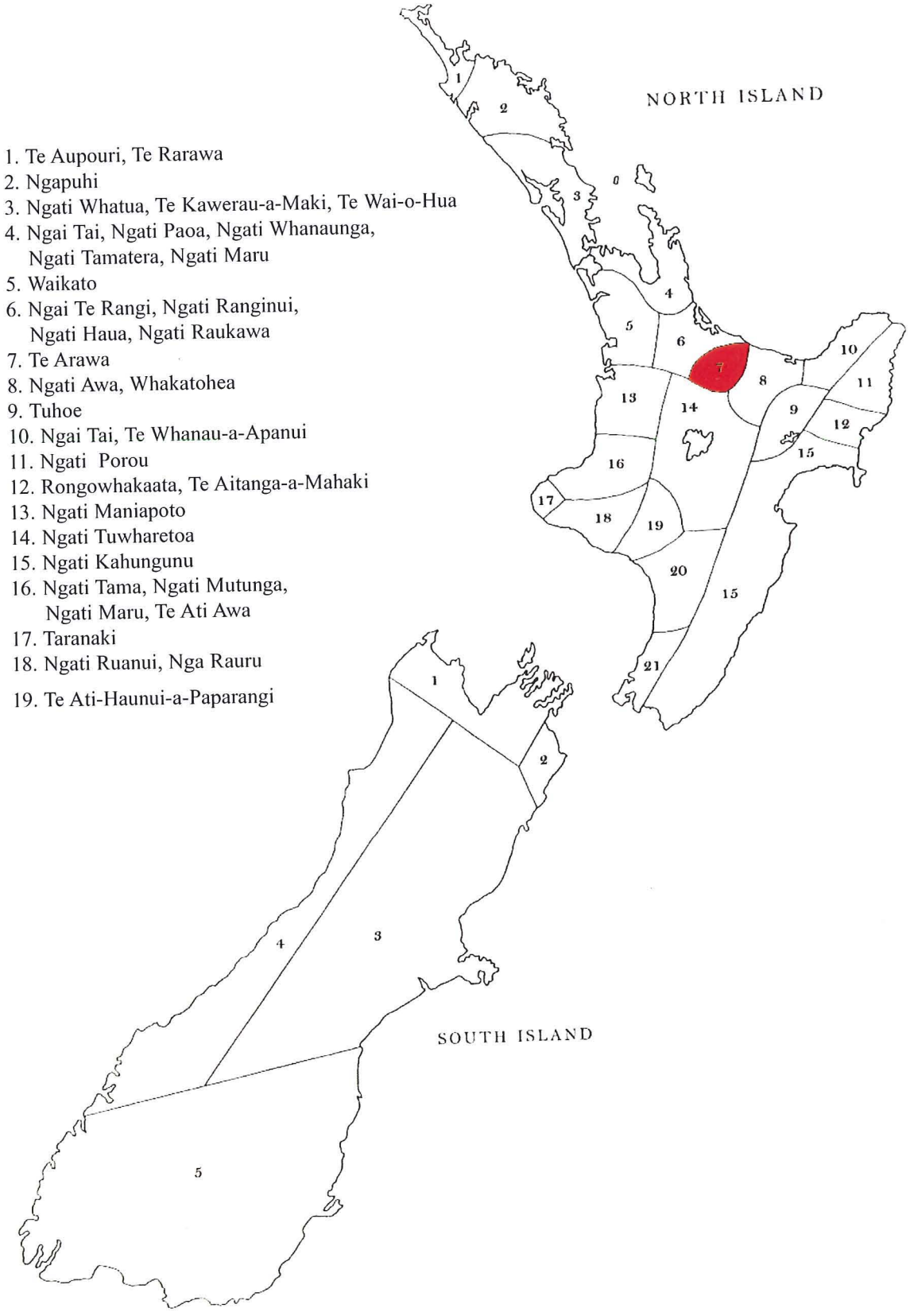

Figure 1.3 Simplified map of descent group regions of Aotearoa, the Arawa descent group region is shaded in (after Roger Neich and Te Warena Taua, in Starzecka 1996: 172)

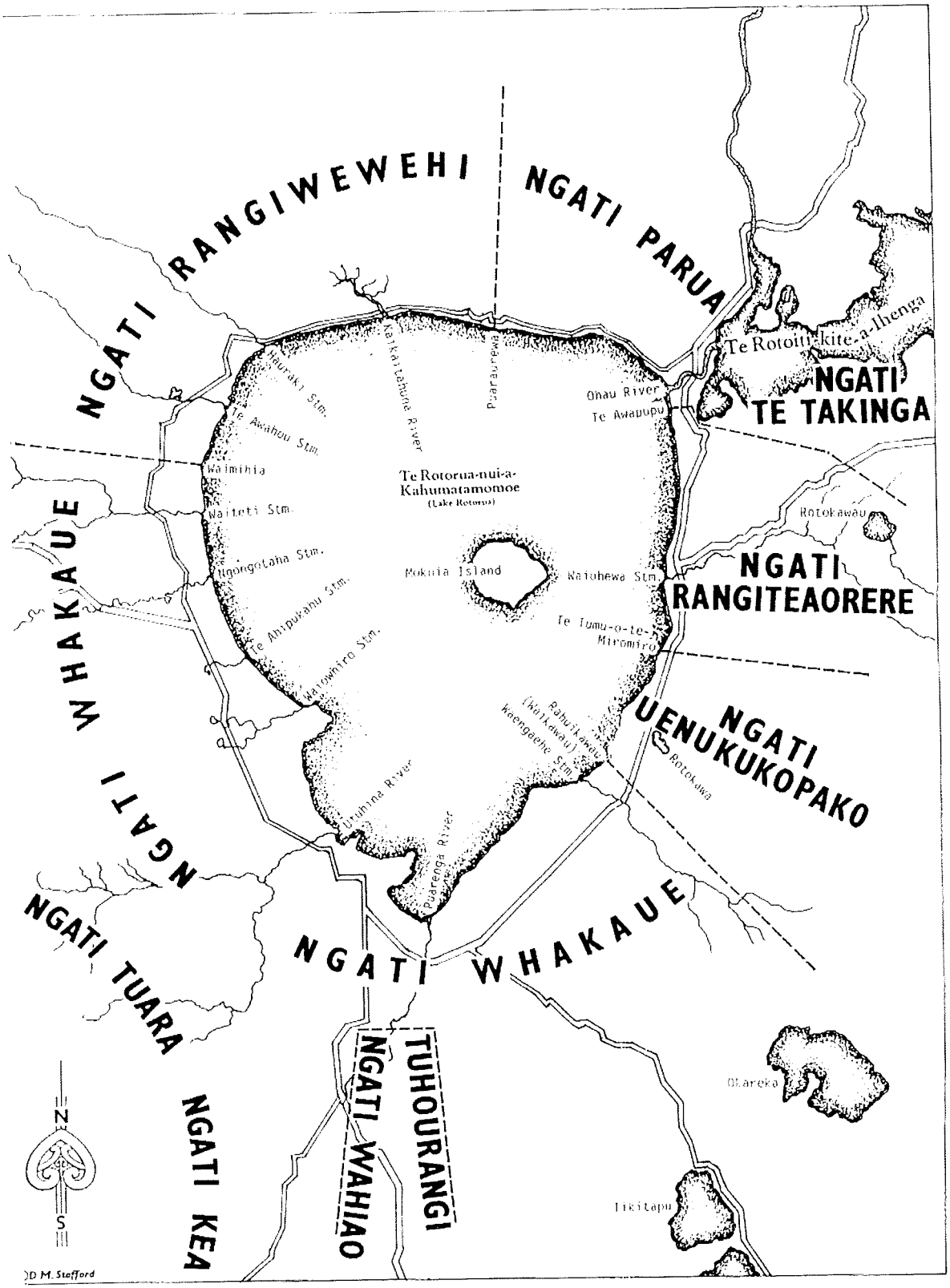

Figure 1.4 Simplified map of Te Arawa descent group areas surrounding Lake Rotorua (after Stafford 1994: 197)

as longstanding customary understandings of cosmological genesis are informed by the notion that all worldly things, be they plants, animals, humans, sea, air or water and so on, possess te mauri (a life principle) and te hau (a vital essence or breath). All beings in Te Ao (the world of light and life) emerge from acts of division from Te Po (the generative dimension of darkness, the ancestors and the unborn) and are created of the same living substance. Thus all things are understood as being genealogically related through kin-based replication and descent, which in turn informs a sense of being-in-the-world that is continuous with ancestral being (Salmond 1995).

Descent groups usually take the name of a founding ancestor, the prefix 'Ngati' given before the ancestor's name means 'the descendants of' (hence 'Ngati Whakaue' means 'the descendants of the Arawa ancestor Whakaue', for example). Throughout the thesis I give a generalised translation of these terms as descent group or groupings to allow for whanaungatanga, the generative relatedness that connects whanau to hapu to iwi. This avoids codification of descent group relationships into a pyramidal hierarchy, as can be implied by the ascending terms family, clan and tribe. Descent groupings are flexible and dynamic, grouping and regrouping depending on the social occasion, and waxing and waning depending on the historical fortunes of constituent groups. It is important to realise maps of descent group regions and settlements are therefore simplified diagrams of what on the ground are complex, shifting (and sometimes much debated) relationships.

Recent historical research suggests that up until the first half of the nineteenth century hapu migrated extensively and could adopt different names in different regions to evoke rights in that area. The term kainga was another significant organisational grouping, formed independently of whakapapa (genealogical descent, blood ties) and fostered through mutual obligation that was perhaps more to do with survival than kinship (Williams 1998). Multiple cohesion into iwi was rare, except for large collective tasks such as major fishing expeditions or wars, otherwise sociality was characterised by hapu autonomy, with rivalry expressed between hapu, to do with the assertion of mana (ancestral authority) and utu (return in kind) for slights to mana (Ballara 1998). In this period, leadership positions were attained through group consensus. A variety of factors were influential, including seniority of

descent line which conferred mana (ancestral authority) from birth, in combination with a number of other admired attributes that conferred mana, including the ability to influence group consensus through strong oratorical skills, and hence to lead the group, and adeptness in martial arts, which in pre-pacified times indicated the ability to defend the group in war (Salmond 1975).

Today, although hereditary, actual levels of leadership activity remain conditioned by group consensus, such that leadership is as much a position of social responsibility and obligation to the descent group, as it is a position of influence and authority. The first-born of the most ancient whakapapa lines (lines of genealogical descent), the Aho Ariki, inherit great mana (ancestral standing) descending from the founding ancestors of the people. Because of the antiquity of these descent lines, they can karangamaha, or interconnect, with many hapu and iwi of the region and hence may speak on marae (ceremonial ground) throughout the area, and influence a wider array of people. Rangatira become leaders through a combination of inherited and earned mana, and are entrusted to speak on behalf of their people, and Kaumatua (elders), specifically Koroua (men) and Kuia (women), acquire status through age and the wisdom of experience, some entering into highly active leadership roles in their senior years.

Descent group organisation and connections with ancestral lands changed dramatically during the nineteenth century. Substantial political realignments occurred following escalating musket warfare, combined with a massive decline in Maori population numbers from introduced diseases. Social reorganisation into increasingly settled habitation and agriculture following the uptake of Christianity and pacification, and many peoples regrouped into larger aggregates or iwi, often as a means of survival and to prevent further land alienation (Ballara 1998). Colonial authorities encouraged even larger political aggregation into canoe group confederations, such as Te Arawa, in order to simplify the complexity of indigenous land tenure and ease the assigning of native title in colonial land courts, which would ultimately assist sales (*ibid*).

General inferences of how take (entitlements in ancestral lands and resources) were understood and articulated can be gleaned from evidence given in colonial land court hearings from the late nineteenth century. Entitlements were activated by some

combination of conquest, ancestry and genealogical descent, and occupation. To maintain claims they had to be 'kept warm' through nohotuturu (continual occupation), figuratively expressed as ahi ka (keeping the fires burning). Hence much of the evidence given in court hearings constitutes multiple ways of demonstrating long-term presence on the land. This typically included revealing intimate knowledge of the landscape, naming important features and locations of prized resources such as kokowai (red ochre), hunting grounds, bird-breeding areas, rat-snaring areas, fresh water springs, fern-root digging areas, fishing grounds and outcrops of harakeke (flax), kiekie and other valued plants. Evidence might also involve demonstrating incursions made into the landscape, locating and naming carved ancestral posts and other constructions, such as kumara pits and food stores, tuahu (altars), houses and pa (fortified settlements). Knowledge of battles, of where people died, and of the highly tapu (sacred, set apart) burial areas and caves where exhumed bones were placed, and of the rahui (prohibitions on access) placed on such tapu areas were also used to demonstrate nohotuturu. Rivals would seek to cut these connections to landscape and extinguish a people's claim to place, through conquest and the destruction of settlements and cultivations, the disinterment of graves, and the removal and destruction of bodies, sometimes by cooking and ingestion[5].

During the nineteenth century modes of articulating claims to place were affected by new Christian beliefs and practices and during the latter half of the century by an ever-increasing pressure to sell land to an incoming settler population. In court hearings, claimants began to include activities involving settlers in their claims to nohotuturu: Building churches, dwellings and flour mills for missionaries, and planting introduced crops; building tourist accommodation and receiving access tolls from tourists; building roads and railway lines for the colonial government and other activities involving settlers were given as evidence. All these activities demonstrate not only the encompassing capacity of the logic of nohotuturu, ancestral authority and hence entitlement, they also suggest how objects, actions and contexts

[5] These generalisations are drawn from detailed accounts given in land court hearings of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the Colonial land court at Rotorua (Rotorua Minute Books 15, 16 and 17: The Whakarewarewa Partition hearing of 1889; and the Mokoia Island Minute Books of 1916) and also from notes taken of evidence given in court during the Whakarewarewa hearings of 1887 by Makereti Papakura/Margaret Thom (Makereti Collection, Box V, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford University).

not only reflect each other but may also dislodge and actively redefine each other in the course of time.

Combining work in archives and collections with ethnographic fieldwork counterbalances a bias towards the textual in western historical research, acknowledging how experiences of the past are often mediated in highly tactile ways, a notion evoked in the title of this thesis, of being in touch with things. Such an approach may be especially important in regions of the world such as the Pacific where, although writing was introduced by Christian missionaries from the early nineteenth century, regional histories, genealogies, skills and other valuable knowledge have been handed down from the past and continue to be passed on in the present through various modes of artistic expression.

The fashioning of artistic forms, including commodity forms such as souvenirs and postcard photographs, is an interactive process. Such sources may be less determined than colonial texts, embodying complex iconographies condensed into images or material forms that may be revealing of indigenous expressions emerging from within colonial circumstances, or perhaps from beyond them. Sharing knowledge of international collections forms a valid means of establishing personal fieldwork relations, and several of my personal fieldwork relationships were initiated this way, in particular with local kaumatua (elders) Wihapi Te Amohau Winiata and Huhana Mihinui, again evoking a sense of becoming in touch with things.

My informal adoption by the late Wihapi Te Amohau Winiata, paramount elder of Ngati Whakaue, Te Arawa, born of an ancient descent line with hereditary connections to major descent groups of the region, established the appropriate relationship through which my attendance at hui (formal ceremonial gatherings) held on descent group marae (ceremonial grounds) in the region could proceed. On such formal occasions, knowledge of proceedings was gained from participation, observation, listening and conversation (although direct lines of questioning are frequently inappropriate, as would be overt forms of recording, such as tape-recording, note-taking or photography).

Like most social occasions of importance to a group, hui tend to generate a lot of talk before and after the event in informal discussions at home, at work, at school, in family gatherings and in the course of daily life, when many insightful

comments may be made. Furthermore, as ceremonial aspects of hui have filtered into an increasing number of mainstream locations, including gallery openings, university conferences and graduations, and family occasions such as birthdays, an 'anthropology of occasions'[6] seems to be an unnecessary suspension of particular occasions apart from more general happenings, social engagements and conversations of the day-to-day, which can be equally moving and thought provoking.

Throughout the thesis, Maori terms are glossed in English in the text, with translations listed in the glossary for reference. Inevitably, some depth and nuance of indigenous concepts will be lost in translation, a problem inherent in all acts of translation, yet without which anthropological endeavour would not be possible. Quotes given in the thesis are drawn from notes taken during conversation or from diaries written each day, and are reproduced anonymously apart from those tape-recorded with the speaker's express permission. These sorts of personal engagements have been substantially shaped by local willingness and interest, as visitors can only learn what their hosts are prepared to reveal. Much may remain held back, and in this sense gaps in my knowledge may indicate significant omissions on the part of my hosts.

1.4 Thesis outline

Chapter two posits the notion that museum collections are not simply reflections of a collector's tastes, nor distinct representations of a particular society, but instead constitute indices of materially mediated socialities. Adopting Douglas' notion of the 'countersign' I explore collections as 'artefacts of encounter' that may be revealing of the kinds of negotiated relationships through which access to places and acquisition of things became possible. Revisiting early Maori/European exchanges in the Rotorua region, I account for surprisingly intimate, yet locally compromised conditions of early European settlement. As early impressions of life in a new colony, 'New Zealand', filtered through to Britain, they were inverted into

[6] This method singles out particular occasions from daily life to create a field of study, following Erving Goffman's notion of 'situations as frames for human action' (Salmond 1975: 3). In Salmond's case hui (ceremonial gatherings) provided the requisite occasions.

emigration propaganda that imagined a picturesque and practically empty landscape. The ramifications of rapidly increasing European settlement are traced to account for significant shifts in the balance of Maori/European power relations over the latter half of the nineteenth century; finding that Maori descent groups sought to protect customary authority over their ancestral lands and to establish tourism businesses on them, and that initial European access remained both locally enabled and constrained.

Chapter three applies the position developed in chapter two of collections as indices of materially mediated social relations, to a consideration of items from the Rotorua region in the British Museum. Identifying a major break in acquisitions from the early to the late twentieth century, to explore this period I return to the scene of encounter, Rotorua, where inquiry into the creation and exchange of tourists arts in the region can be explored through numerous other avenues. Following an informal account of my arrival in Rotorua, and the proceedings through which my access was negotiated, I return to the recent past to discuss the close of the nineteenth century. In this period disease, natural disaster and the swift introduction of laws designed to alienate Maori lands contributed to major shifts in the balance of power in favour of colonial authorities and European settlers. Earlier settler-tenant businesses established through Maori patronage of the kind detailed in chapter two were nullified by government law, and independent settler businesses emerged in a newly established colonial township. In this period of rapidly declining autonomy and prosperity for Maori, new souvenir forms, entertainments and tour guiding practices offered a crucial means of obtaining a livelihood.

Following these drastic changes, maintaining a degree of Arawa autonomy would require careful negotiation of relationships with European authorities. As a case study of this, chapter four analyses the ceremonial welcome extended to the Duke and Duchess of York at Rotorua in June 1901. Although organised at the behest of colonial authorities, the scale of Maori participation in this event, and the spirit of intense rivalry expressed between descent groups, suggests a politics of difference that predates European arrivals, yet may be expressed through their presence. Contrary to the salvage ideals expressed in European accounts of the proceedings, syncretic forms and practices incorporated into Maori ceremonial

proceedings appear to have been locally understood as vigorous, powerful and efficacious in virtue of, rather than in spite of, their borrowings. Furthermore, many presentations made to the royal visitors were subsequently loaned to museums and institutions in Britain; hence syncretic forms slipped into collections despite museological attempts to police the boundaries between persons and things, revealing a Maori insistence upon establishing and maintaining relationships between peoples through things. However, in the changed political circumstances of the early twentieth century, the social effects of these presentations upon European recipients appear highly compromised, and the notion of materially mediated sociality requires qualification in terms of the limitations of what things can achieve.

In chapter five I return to a more general consideration of the social workings of tourist art forms and the nature of emergent European patronage relations mediating their production in Rotorua in the early twentieth century. Most influential of all patrons in the region is the state tourist department, keen to expand a national domestic tourism industry in the wake of the popularity of the royal tour of 1901. Maori people, cultural artefacts and designs form a key component in evoking colonial nationality and a national tourism industry, and promoting the nation overseas through touring model Maori villages and concert troupes. However the nature of European patronage relations suggests a nostalgic interest for Maori things of the past with little concern for the welfare of Maori people. As Maori villages decline in prosperity and tourism work becomes increasingly competitive and meagrely paid, renown obtained through the circulation of postcards and other illustrative souvenir wares promoting key locales and guiding personalities becomes a key factor in obtaining tourism work.

With an increase in industrial manufacturing following the second world war, chapter six charts the displacement of Maori handcrafts from the tourist art market, although Maori employment in tourism services such as guiding and concert entertaining is ongoing. The 1960s saw the introduction of aspects of Maori arts training into the national curriculum, and by the 1970s and 1980s a new generation of Maori artists with formal art school training worked to bring Maori art into urban spaces and gallery settings. This movement coincided with escalating campaigns to address past injustices and resolve Maori land grievances, movements that can be

explored through a consideration of changing artistic forms and practices and the social effects they mediate. Building upon an important concept foreshadowed in chapter five, that the social presence and agency of persons can be embodied in objects, designs and images, in chapter six I apply Gell's notion of 'agency' and Keane's notion of 'bundling' to consider the ways in which various souvenirs and art forms act upon, and are affected by a period of indigenous/settler social turbulence and political antagonism. However, things also mediate relations that transcend indigenous/settler relations, as a reconsideration of colonial portraiture reveals, communicating ancestral potency and connecting networks of ancestors and descendants. Conceiving of material forms as the materialisation of networks of relationships in turn problematises notions of artistic creativity and authorship, a subject that is returned to in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EMERGENCE OF TOURISM AND POPULAR COLLECTING

2.1 Introduction: objects as a 'way of knowing'

Exchanges of material things as a 'way of knowing' have been occurring for centuries throughout the Pacific, between various island populations and in the migration of peoples from island to island. However, networks of exchange were to expand considerably when European visitors to New Zealand began acquiring objects. This has been the case ever since 1769, when Captain Cook and his crewmembers moored their ship *Endeavour* off the coast of a place known to them as 'New Zealand', and alighted on Maori lands. Much of their acquisitions subsequently entered into museums and private collections in Europe.

In a general survey of Maori collections in European museums, Gathercole noted that things identified as 'Cook's voyages material' have tended to receive relatively greater attention from both scholarly interests and a museum-going public in general (1978: 275). Such a tendency toward items collected during a period of limited European intrusion would seem unsurprising where inquirers seek to retrieve a sense of a pre-European past. Furthermore, because late eighteenth and early nineteenth century voyages of the Pacific were intended to be scientific explorations, generating journals, sketches, diaries and detailed observations[1], inquiries into such collections may be more productive, i.e. pragmatically assisted by the range of relatively more systematic documentation that was generated[2].

Where such documentation exists, Gathercole (*ibid*) suggests these earlier eighteenth and nineteenth century voyage collections are more 'knowable' – that is

[1] For example, see the journals of Sir Joseph Banks, 1768-1771, in Beaglehole (ed) (1962); also the journals of Captain James Cook on his various voyages of discovery; and the journal of Sydney Parkinson (1784) on HMS Endeavour in 1768-1771 in Beaglehole et al (eds) (1955; 1967).

[2] For extensive analyses of 'Cook's material' in European and other collections see Kaeppler (1978); similarly extensive analyses of voyage journals, sketches, and related documentation can be found in Smith (1960).

more accessible to inquiry in the direct sense of researching their accompanying documentation. He compares this situation to the less systematic popular collecting practices that followed in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when aristocratic travellers and affluent tourists amassed significant collections, much of which made their way into European institutions, but for which documentation may be scant or non-existent.

His suggestion raises a practical problem for applying theoretical materialist approaches outlined in the literature review (chapter one, section 1.3), in particular the notion that we might productively explore the 'social lives' of things (Appadurai 1986), as in many cases we may not know where to begin. This elusive situation led Gathercole to suggest, somewhat pessimistically, "No wonder these collections have been ignored by anthropologists for so long. They appear to comprise a haphazard assemblage of junk, reflecting only their unsystematic methods of acquisition" (Gathercole 1978: 276). On the same grounds, he continues, these collections are "not representative in any ethnographic sense at all", they are but "mirrors of European tastes" from "an episode in English social history" when "the acquiring of Maori artefacts was totally divorced from Maori society, past or present" (*ibid*: 280).

More recently in a review of the Maori collection at the British Museum, Starzecka drew a similar conclusion, that collections "reflect the collector's personal tastes and interests, the perceived value of objects, their portability or simply chance" (1998: 148-9). Hence, she suggests, it is not surprising that we find large numbers of things such as carved treasure boxes, nephrite (greenstone) ornaments and flutes, as these were small portable items that "must have been particularly attractive to the collectors" (*ibid*: 149), whereas large objects and ordinary domestic implements are relatively few in number.

Whilst it is generally likely that things in collections were in someway desirable to European collectors, as well as necessarily being practically removable, it does not follow that we should therefore shift the focus of our analyses to European collecting preferences. A basic assumption underlies both Gathercole and Starzecka's position: if collectors acquired what their preferences desired, then by implication this assumes, somewhat straightforwardly, that Maori gave collectors access to whatever it was that that they wanted. Such an assumption, resting upon a

notion of an enduring separation between something called 'Maori society' and something called 'European society' (Gathercole: *ibid*), does not allow for the possibility that Maori people might, to some degree, have influenced the formation of collections of Maori things in Europe. Instead of maintaining such a distinction[3], if we allow that there may be considerable negotiations surrounding Maori/European encounters and exchanges of things, a space opens up for the possibility of indigenous action in spheres of exchange and collecting.

In other words, it may be more productive to approach collections not as material representations of societies (c.f. Gathercole: *ibid*), but to consider the process of their formation as a complex interactive sociality, mediated through travel and exchange, in which situations of encounter come to influence the kinds of things being made in any social setting, and the kinds of things being made available for exchange and removal. Thus, in an indirect way, by focussing our analyses on moments of encounter as negotiated and possibly compromised situations, we can reconsider the kinds of mutual influences that may have shaped the collections that subsequently made their way into auction rooms, museums and archives in Europe. Understood in this light, collections of Maori things in Europe can be re-theorised as 'indices of a materially mediated sociality' (Gell 1998), through which we might retrieve something of both a host and visitor presence and influence as collections are, after all, the material products of Maori/European encounters.

It has recently been suggested by Thomas (2000) that it is possible to retrieve such interactions by studying the form and content of particular collections in Europe and elsewhere, where the presence or absence of particular things may reveal clues as to the ways in which a visitor presence and incursion on occupied lands may have been limited, or at least accommodated, by its prior inhabitants. A more searching and indirect approach to these clues is necessary, such as that posited by Douglas (1999). Douglas mines colonial archives for the muted traces of indigenous action that may have been incorporated within them, traces that she calls indigenous 'impress' or 'countersigns'. For example, agency might be indirectly located in a repeating presence of one kind of image, object or stereotype rather than another one;

[3] Such a distinction is immediately problematic as in any social groupings complex politics of difference operate within and between them, in contact with other groupings.

or may be manifested through a significant absence. Absence hints at some kind of significant limitation or incursion, rather than some level of access, incorporation and accommodation.

Whilst Douglas's research has to date been primarily concerned with late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Pacific voyage literature and art, her approach has implications for exploration of a broader range of 'materials made of encounter' that emerge in the latter half of the nineteenth century through processes of colonial emigration, settlement and the emergence of tourism and popular collecting. Hence, I apply a similarly indirect approach to Douglas to explore the kinds of materials I will be concerned with throughout this thesis – popular sketches, travel writing, reporting, postcard photography and souvenirs, found in both private and public collections and archives.

Such sources are admittedly contentious and numerous authors have dismissed them in post-colonial scholarship of the past two decades concerned to qualify an understanding that colonial relations have been relations of dominance. However, this in itself has become problematic as to reject things such as travel guides and accompanying popular postcard photography as typically colonising depictions of brief sojourns, laced with the primitivist desire of the white male gaze, or romantically tinged with nostalgia for a displaced 'dying race' justified by an imagined racial superiority, restates a position of colonial hegemony whilst doing little to engage with the kinds of negotiated relationships that enabled such access in the first place[4].

Instead, by suggesting colonial sources may be potentially revealing of the nature of the cross-cultural negotiations that surrounded their manufacture, I reconsider these problematic sources as things relationally produced between peoples. They may be engaged with indirectly as a form of (admittedly problematic) popular 'ethnography', which precedes anthropological fieldwork as a professional discipline and relational practice. When travel writing and postcard imagery are

[4] See for example discursive analyses of relations of colonial domination in the production of postcard images of Maori women (Sutton-Beets 2000); of the relationships between colonial photographers and peoples of the Pacific islands more generally (Webb 1998); in the collection of souvenirs from colonial destinations (Hitchcock and Teague (eds) (2000); in the participation of colonial subjects in nineteenth and twentieth century industrial exhibitions in Britain (Levell 2000) and in New Zealand (Dibley 1998); and in museum collecting and exhibiting practices (Hooper-Greenhill 2000).

explored in conjunction with research in private and public collections, and through the kinds of personal relationships fostered in fieldwork, patterns or discrepancies may emerge that throw out certain clues. Such clues, though less direct and hard to locate or decipher, may be ethnographically illuminating, even when source materials may be problematic and contentious.

2.2 Early Maori/European exchanges

European influences began to significantly impact upon coastal regions of New Zealand from as early as the 1790s with the arrival of whalers and sealers, some of whom settled living amongst a prior population as 'Pakeha Maori' (Maning 1863; Bentley 1999). Indirectly, European impacts spread further a field through the spreading of epidemic disease (Salmond 1991). From 1814, Christian missionaries such as Samuel Marsden settled in the northern regions of north island New Zealand (Maning 1863). However, as an inland population, the Arawa peoples of the Rotorua district had not at this time experienced direct contact with Europeans.

Come 1823, the Arawa peoples were to feel the impact of prior Maori/European encounters and transactions in an indirect yet utterly devastating way, when a Ngapuhi war party from the north attacked the Arawa stronghold of Mokoia Island armed with hundreds of muskets. These had been acquired by virtue of their closer proximity with whalers, sealers, missionaries and traders[5]. So powerful was this experience that to date, oral accounts vividly recall that at the time the Arawa had only one musket. They fired at the Ngapuhi paramount leader, Hongi Hika, striking him in the head[6], but he survived because he was wearing a metal helmet given to him by King George IV[7].

Arawa losses to the Ngapuhi musket raid were heavy, but some escaped through bravery and hand-to-hand combat skills, and others were spared through relations of inter-marriage. The captured were taken north to Ngapuhi territory,

[5] This attack was in utu or reciprocity for a previous attack by Tuhourangi of the Arawa upon Ngapuhi in 1822, this in turn was in utu for an earlier attack by Hongi Hika upon Te Rauparaha, the husband of an important Tuhourangi woman (Stafford 1967: 175).
[6] *Ibid*: 175-188
[7] During a visit to England in 1820, Hongi Hika and his deputation were received by King George IV and given many valuable presents, including the helmet that would subsequently save his life. It is said that many of these gifts were exchanged for muskets and ammunition on their return to New Zealand via New South Wales (Polack 1838: 178-182).

where a number were killed, cooked and eaten by the victors. It is through the Ngapuhi abduction of Arawa to the north that surviving Arawa captives came into contact with Danish trader, Phillip Tapsell. Through them, Tapsell subsequently came to settle on Arawa lands at the east coast area of Maketu, sometime between 1828 and 1831. It is through Tapsell that the Arawa began commercial flax preparation, trading flax for much-needed weapons and ammunition following the Ngapuhi attack (Stafford 1967: 194)[8].

It was also through the Ngapuhi abduction of Arawa captives to the north that Arawa peoples came into contact with Christian missionaries, including Ngapuhi converts, who were later brought back to the Arawa district after a peace had been negotiated between them, and captives were allowed to return. A reverend Thomas Chapman and his wife arrived in the Rotorua district in 1835. At this time, there remained considerable material advantages to obtaining a 'Pakeha' (European settler) – missionary, trader or otherwise – as valuable goods, such as clothing, blankets and iron pots, could be acquired through them in return for local goods and services, including a place to live (Shortland 1856: 22; Bentley 1999: 28-33). The local inhabitants of "the great pah at Ohinemutu" (Chapman cited in Webb 1949: 18) built the Chapmans' a mission station nearby, using local design, materials and techniques, indicating Christian influences upon domestic arrangements were, at least initially, substantially compromised by local opinion and practices.

2.3 Early images of Rotorua in global circulation

Through missionary presence, and hence some suggestion of pacification and a 'civilising' of the local inhabitants, an increasing number of visitors began to arrive on Arawa lands. The first European visitor to leave a visual record of the lakes region and its settlements was Joseph Jenner Merrett, whose pencil and ink sketches of the region have been dated to sometime between 1839 and 1841 (Blackley 1990: 84; Neich 2000: 22)[9]. Merrett, accompanied by Edward Shortland, Ernst Dieffenbach and Ensign Best, set out on deliberate 'learning expeditions' during which they made

[8] (Today Tapsell is succeeded by a well-known and influential Arawa family of the same name).

[9] A collection of Merrett's 'field drawings' comprise most of the sketches in 'New Zealand Pictorial Scrapbook, Drawings and Sketches illustrative of New Zealand 1845-54', presented to the British Museum in 1854 by Sir George Grey, Governor of New Zealand from 1845-53, now held in the manuscript collections of the British Library, BL ADD. MS 19953; see also Locke and Paul (1989).

detailed accounts of their visits.[10] Their accounts and illustrations suggest some grasp of Maori character, custom and language that indicates they had been privileged with a respectful degree of inclusion, in turn suggesting they had demonstrated sufficient respect to their Maori hosts[11].

Notably, Merrett depicts an inhabited landscape. His depiction of Lake Rotorua, with Ngongotaha Mountain in the background and clusters of dwellings on Mokoia Island (figure 2.1, centre right) is one patrolled by three large war canoes brimming with people. On the foreshore, a group looks on, perhaps a family, with a high-ranking person with feathers in their hair, three adults and a small child. The degree to which these early visitors were impressed with vast fortified pa (settlement), such as Muruika that stood at Ohinemutu on the shore of Lake Rotorua, is evident in Dieffenbach's detailed account:

> The pa, which is the finest I have seen in New Zealand, occupies a large surface, which is intersected by crevices from which steam issues, by boiling springs, and by mud volcanoes...The structures in this pa – the houses, doors and palisades – displayed the most ingenious pieces of native workmanship...Each of the representations of the human figure bears the name of some tupuna, or ancestor, and the whole is actually a carved history...Within the pa some are busy carving, or working at canoes, whilst others enjoy the *dolce far niente*...Comparing the upstart settlements of missionary natives with this old heathen pa, the former really look miserable and tame (Dieffenbach 1843 vol. 2: 389-91).

Merrett depicted Muruika pa at Ohinemutu (figure 2.2). Its many imposing ancestral carvings included the great kuwaha or gateway, Pukaki (figure 2.3), attributed to the renowned carver Taupua Te Whanoa[12]. Merrett's scene is an active one, depicting a group of manuhiri (visitors) performing a challenging posture dance in reply to the welcome issued by the tangata whenua, the host people of the settlement who stand facing them.

In London, George French Angas published a lithograph of Merrett's sketch, in reverse and with slight modification and embellishment (Angas 1847: plate 53) (figure 2.4). At this time, prior to the invention of photography, artists often replicated their own and other artists' work. Through such replication certain images

[10] Shortland (1856); Dieffenbach (1843); Taylor (1959)
[11] In Merrett's case his incorporation was in a social sense. In 1843 Merrett married Rangitetaea Koa of Ngati Koura descent from the Waikato. It is evident that he admired his wife from his portraits and poetry of her. In 1843 they had a daughter, Ani, and are succeeded by many descendants, today known as 'Merritt' (Locke and Paul 1989: 38).
[12] Tapsell 2000: 60; Neich cited in Tapsell 2000: 61

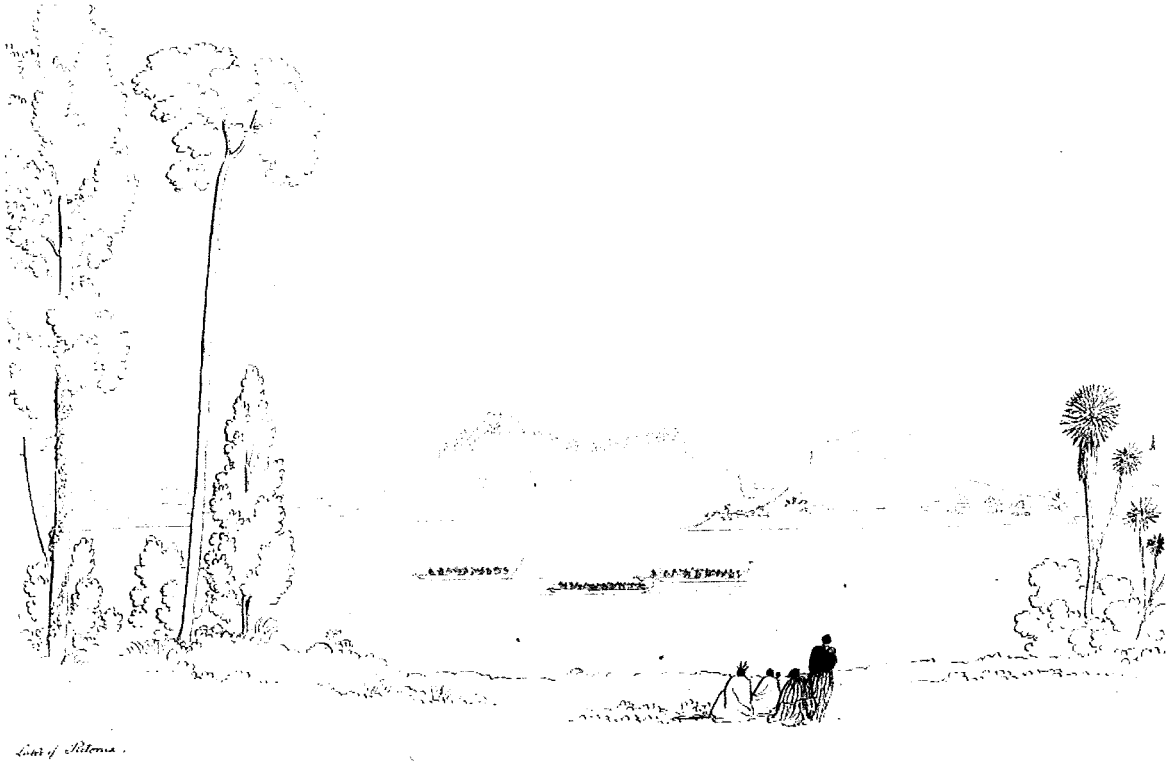

Figure 2.1 'The Lake of Rotorua' attributed to Joseph Jenner Merrett c. 1839-1841, ink and wash on paper, 197mm x 311mm, British Library, BL ADD. MS 19953 p.118 plate 288

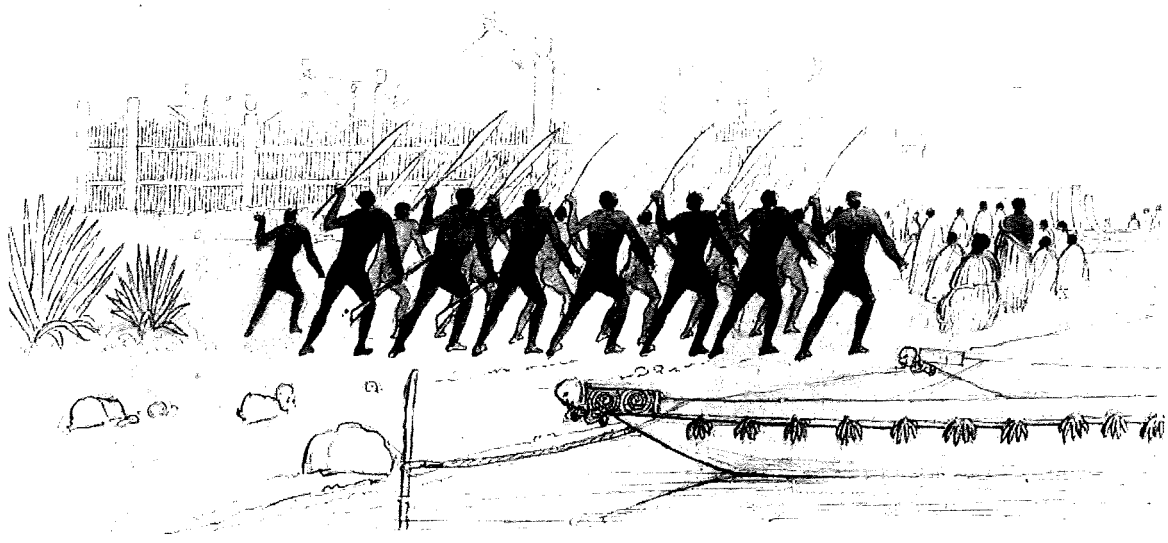

Figure 2.2 'Natives dancing their war dance, before the Pah of Hoinemutu [Ohinemutu]' attributed to Joseph Jenner Merrett c. 1839-1841, ink and wash on paper, 196mm x 302mm, British Library, BL ADD. MS 19953 p.122 plate 295

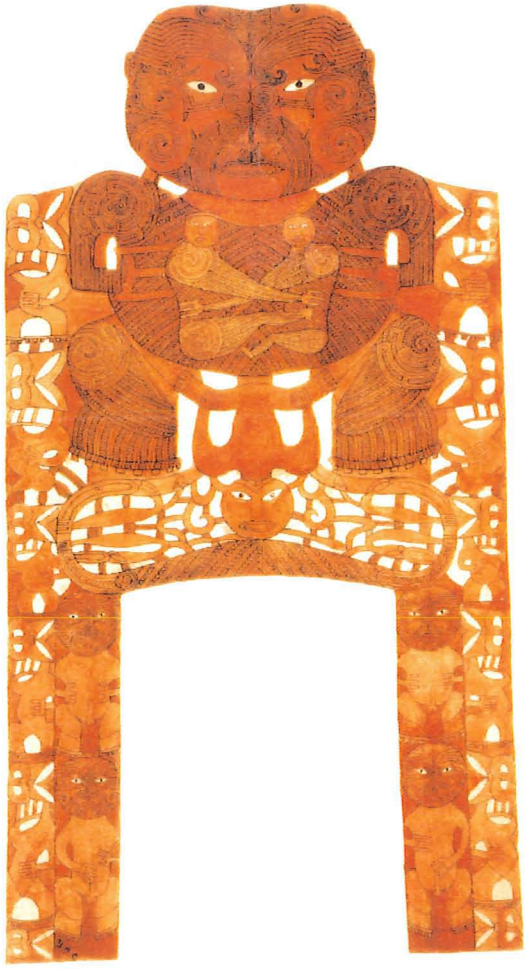

Figure 2.3 Ngati Whakaue ancestor Pukaki, in sexual union with Ngapuia of Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao, holding sons Wharengaro and Rangikatuku, carved as a great kuwaha (gateway) into Muruika Pa, Ohinemutu, c. 1848, ink and watercolour by Captain T. J. Grant (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa)

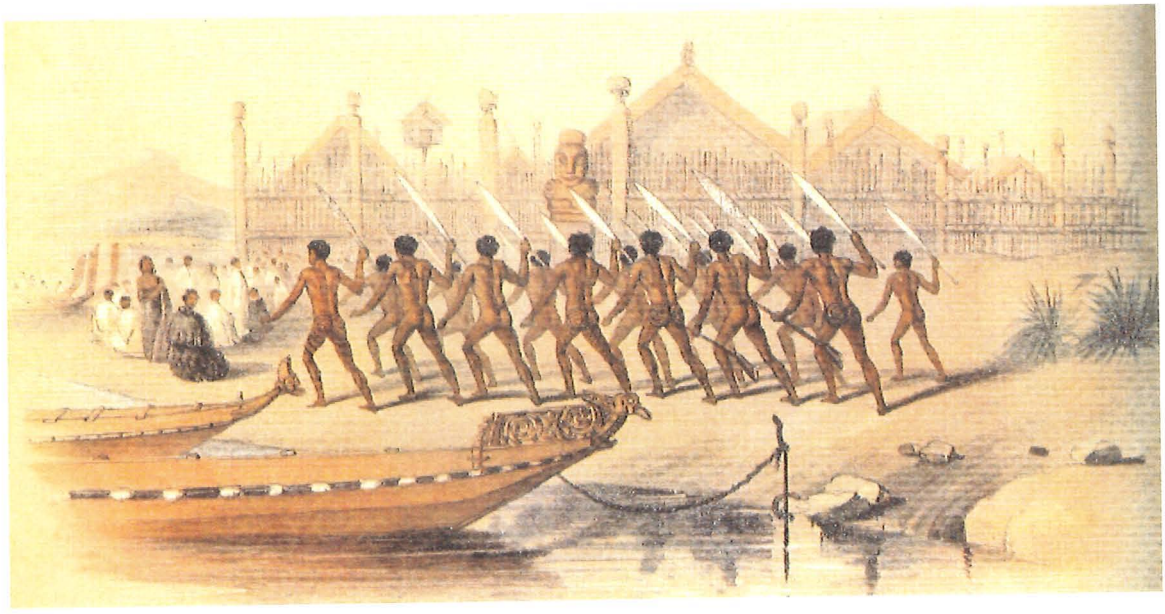

Figure 2.4: 'War Dance before the Pah of Ohinemutu near Rotorua Lake', lithograph by George French Angas, published in London in 1846, (Angas 1846: Pl. 53)

became widely circulated to book-reading classes of the British public and, in this sense, Maori/European encounters in the Rotorua region around the mid-nineteenth century gradually filtered through to Europe where a particular image of Maori life began to take shape.

These exchanges of posture dance accompanied by chants form the opening part of powhiri, important welcome ceremonies that proceed whenever a visiting group arrives and is received into a settlement[13]. Rather than a moralising condemnation of 'heathen war dances', Shortland (1856) and Dieffenbach (1843) portrayed with considerable insight a great variety of haka, poi, karakia and waiata, that is, of posture dance, poi dance, chant and sung poetry composed and enjoyed by Maori, describing in native terminology the variants in compositional form, and gestures and motions that accompany them[14]. Merrett drew similar scenes, such as the physical greeting that completes powhiri ceremony, the hongi or pressing of noses to share breath, sometimes accompanied by tangi or weeping (figure 2.5). He also depicted entertainments, such as women swinging poi balls on long strings, and playing hand games accompanied by song (figure 2.6).

Whilst Dieffenbach and Shortland later published their journals, the majority of Merrett's sketches and paintings were not in press and popular circulation. However, some were reworked into lithographs and published in London, by Angas (1847), as already noted, and also by Charles Terry (1842). In the original sketch, drawn sometime between 1839 and 1841, Merrett depicted a powhiri ceremony proceeding outside the stronghold of Te Koutu Pa, a heavily palisaded settlement that included the huge carved gateway Te Rangitakaroro[15] at Lake Okataina, Rotorua (figure 2.7).

Merrett's painting of a land defended by its inhabitants appears to have been unsuitable for a publication aimed at promoting emigration and colonisation, such as Terry's (*ibid*), one of the earliest illustrated books of the region to become available to a general public in Britain. In Terry's rendition, the people are absent and an empty landscape is imagined, one that is available for colonisation, with only

[13] See Cruise [1823] (1974: 23-24) for a contemporary account of rituals encounter and the formal receiving of distinguished guests and Salmond (1975) for historical and anthropological analyses of these important ceremonial practices and their ongoing significance.
[14] Shortland (1856); Dieffenbach (1843: 56-57, 100-106)
[15] This ancestral carving is presently on display in Auckland Museum.

Figure 2.5 'A Tangi or meeting of friends', attributed to Joseph Jenner Merrett c. 1839-1841, behind them stands a large raised pataka or food storehouse, and to the left a large chiefly dwelling, ink and wash on paper, 295mm x 192mm, British Library, BL ADD. MS 19953 p.95 plate 264

Figure 2.6 'Native Women Singing', attributed to Joseph Jenner Merrett c. 1839-1841, ink and wash on paper, 295mm x 189mm, British Library, BL ADD. MS 19953 p.100 plate 269

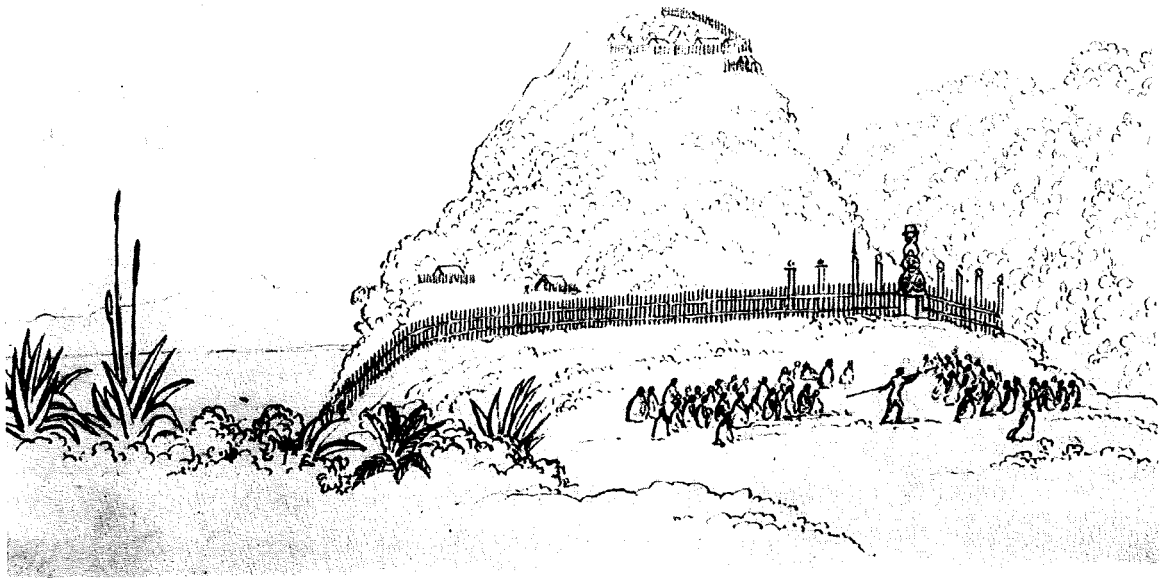

Figure 2.7 'The Pah of Okataina on the Lake of ' Te Koutu Pa, Lake Okataina, with tangata whenua (hosts) and manuhiri (visitors) performing ceremonial powhiri in front of Te Rangitakaroro gateway, attributed to Joseph Jenner Merrett, c. 1839-1841, ink and pencil on paper, 163mm x 250mm, 'Mrs Hobson's Album', Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, p. 179 plate 62

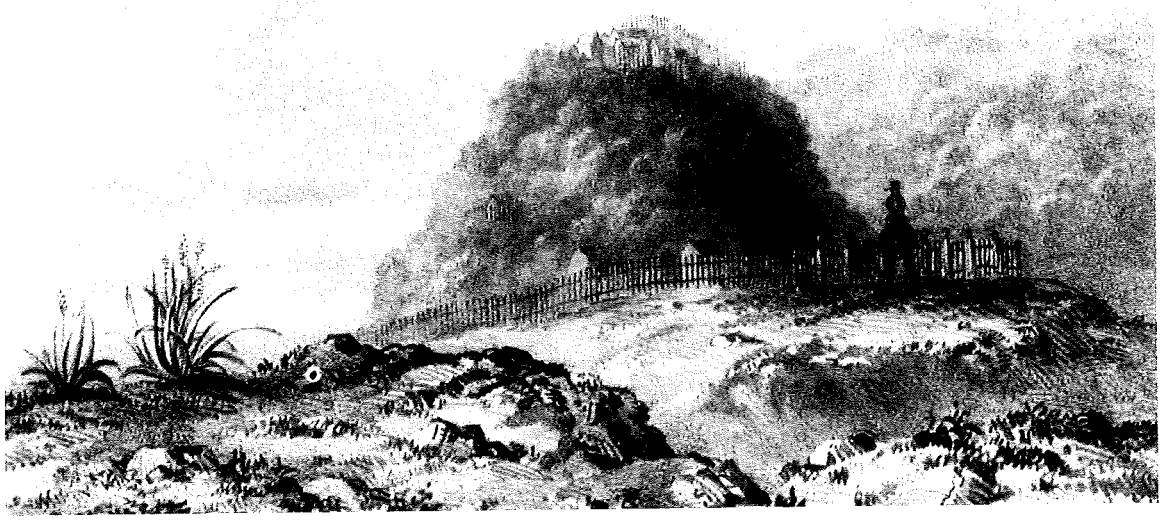

Figure 2.8 'Fortified Native Village', lithograph by Charles Terry 1842, 105mm x 170mm, published in Terry (1842: 71)

picturesque remnants of a former Maori pa to decorate the scene (Terry 1842: 71) (figure 2.8).

In London in 1825, Wakefield and others founded a 'New Zealand Company' to promote colonial settlement, bringing together missionary, shipping company and merchant interests to form a powerful lobby group calling for parliamentary intervention in New Zealand. This resulted in Captain Hobson's visit to entreat with Maori chiefs to cede to Queen Victoria the sole right of land purchase in exchange for the rights of British subjects, and the protection of their lands, forests, fisheries and taonga, all things held to be valuable. Signed at a gathering of chiefs at Waitangi in 1840, a Maori language version of the treaty circulated around the country to be signed by chiefs from other regions[16].

News of this treaty was made known to the British public in a flurry of publications that ensued, promoting emigration by assuring potential colonisers of the many benefits that would accrue to them by emigrating[17]. Presented as a 'Britain of the South' (Wakefield 1845), a 'Happy Colony' (Pemberton 1854) where people could escape rural poverty and famine, or overcrowded disease-ridden industrial city slums, this far-flung location was idealised as place in which to begin a new life in a new world – 'New Zealand' (*ibid*: 204-5). Middle-class readers of Terry's publication might find the promise of a wholesome outdoor natural livelihood in a better climate appealing, freed of materialist ambitions and far away from the negative impacts of nineteenth century industrialisation and urbanisation (Williams 1973: 42). Images of picturesque and abundantly fertile landscapes were most likely alluring to those who romantically entertained the ideal of stepping back in time to a

[16] Discrepancies between Maori and English versions regarding what the treaty guaranteed protection of, as well as the nullification of the treaty by the colonial government, have created many Maori grievances regarding lands and resources that remain unresolved to this day. See Claudia Orange (1987), Hugh Kawharu (1989) and Andrew Sharp (1990) for detailed accounts of treaty issues.

[17] For example, 'Handbook for emigrants, and others, being a history of New Zealand, its state and prospects, previous and subsequent to the proclamation of her Majesty's authority' by John Bright MRCS, Resident for four years in the southern hemisphere, published in 1841 in London by Henry Hooper; 'Colonisation of New Zealand by William Fox of the Inner Temple, Esq.', published in 1842 in London by Smith, Elder and Company; 'An account of the settlements of the New Zealand company, from personal observation during a residence there', by Honourable Henry William Petre, published in 1842 in London by Smith et al; and 'New Zealand Colonisation: Details of the system of the New Zealand Company and of proceedings of the local government with objections stated and remedies proposed in a plan for the next settlement, suggested with the view of preserving all the advantages of colonisation to the colonists themselves', published by John Jennings, New Zealand Agent, in London in 1843 by Pelham Richardson.

pre-industrial England, to live in a rose covered thatch cottage in New Zealand, as Charles F. Hursthouse explicitly encouraged emigrants to do (1853: 25).

In this sense, the texts and images in this post-1840 flurry of publications form part of what can be considered as a broader 'artefactual technology'[18] (including travellers' accounts, guidebooks, sketches, paintings and such) for fostering emigration, regardless of the actual social and political state of affairs between Maori and immigrants. As material and textual strategies aimed at bringing about certain effects – namely encouraging people to locate their imaginary ideals in a far away place and hence emigrate there, a place recently proclaimed under British law yet already inhabited by a prior people – this material device appears to have been highly influential, as settler numbers escalated rapidly, from around two thousand in 1839 to around thirty one thousand by 1854[19].

2.4 Escalating European settlement and ideas about property

From the 1840s, colonial interventionist policies may have been morally concerned to 'protect the Aborigines' from escalating instances of warfare and the related practice of cannibalism since the introduction of gunfire technology, according to Christian norms and beliefs. However, Christian morals aside, these policies had a different purpose in Britain where they were presented to potential middle-class emigrants as a means of assuring them the security of their property under British law, from the threat of Maori warfare and plunder (Wakefield 1845). Around this time, in ongoing disputes between the Arawa and Ngai Te Rangi peoples over coastal lands from Tauranga to Maketu[20], where Maori faced a conflict of interests, missionary accounts reveal that people would rather offend Christian principles and break the Queen's laws than fail to defend their mana (ancestral authority). Where necessary, to obtain utu or payment for offences committed against them, people continued to engage in warfare and the cannibalism of captured foes (Stafford 1967: 297). Clearly, despite proclamations made in Britain of 'New Zealand' as a 'British Possession', on the ground, prior inhabitants of these lands did not find themselves to

[18] This idea is drawn from Gell's notion of technologies of enchantment (1998; 1992).
[19] Population figures are taken from Sutch (1969: 187).
[20] See chapter one, figure 1.3, descent group areas six and seven.

be necessarily subject to British law, nor even to the principles of a Christian god[21], but continued to uphold customary beliefs and the practises they informed.

Merrett's immediate experience of customary practices in relation to property, appear to have threatened his own sense of proprietary rights. In his depiction of a taua or armed party engaging in muru – that is the removal of the valued possessions of a group of people, in this case cloaks and imported objects including boxes, muskets and iron pots, in utu or payment for an offence or injury (figure 2.9) – the force with which these valuables are being taken implies their 'theft'. Similarly, his depiction of people running as if thieves fleeing the scene of a crime, and his use of the word "robbing" to describe the custom of muru, suggest he interpreted this practice as tantamount to robbery (see title, figure 2.9). Contemporary ethnographic accounts of taua and muru suggest this practice was ideally carried out without resistance, as only by relinquishing all of their valued property could an offending group's mana be restored[22]. Whilst it is unlikely that people always behave in accordance with social ideals, and hence Merrett may have encountered muru that were both forceful and resisted, it is also likely Merrett brought with him prior understandings of removal of personal property as 'wrongful theft', which may have influenced his depiction of this customary practice. Possible anxiety regarding such practices on his part may not have been unfounded, as when caught in the crossfire between rival Maori groups, or when causing offence to Maori themselves, settlers were not immune from being stripped of all their material possessions in payment for insult[23].

During a taua, haka (vigorous posture dances) were performed to demonstrate strength and agility and to physically and psychologically prepare for action. Whilst Merrett appears to have been impressed by the force of arms of a taua in action

[21] Stafford (1967: 243-253) cites vivid missionary accounts of the sacking of early mission stations, and local threats to take mission inhabitants as captives.

[22] Williams (1917) [1844] translates muru as both plunder and to wipe out or forgive (1917 [1844]: 250); Makereti gives an eyewitness account of a taua puremu, a muru performed in utu or return for the offence caused by adultery to the cuckolded person and their descent group, in the Rotorua region in the late nineteenth century (1938: 105-8).

[23] For example Pilly, an assistant of Chapman stationed near Ohinemutu, was stripped down to his underpants during a Ngati Haua attack on the Ngati Whakaue people of Ohinemutu in around 1836 (cited in Gee 1961: 26). Both Maning (1863) and Bentley (1999) give numerous accounts from various regions of the country where settlers who lived as 'Pakeha Maori' frequently found their 'personal' belongings subjected to muru in payment for offences committed by the wider community into which they had been adopted.

Figure 2.9 'A taua, robbing a tribe as payment for an offence or injury', attributed to Joseph Jenner Merrett c. 1839-1841, ink and wash on paper, 196mm x 306mm, British Library, BL ADD. MS 19953 p. 116, plate 286

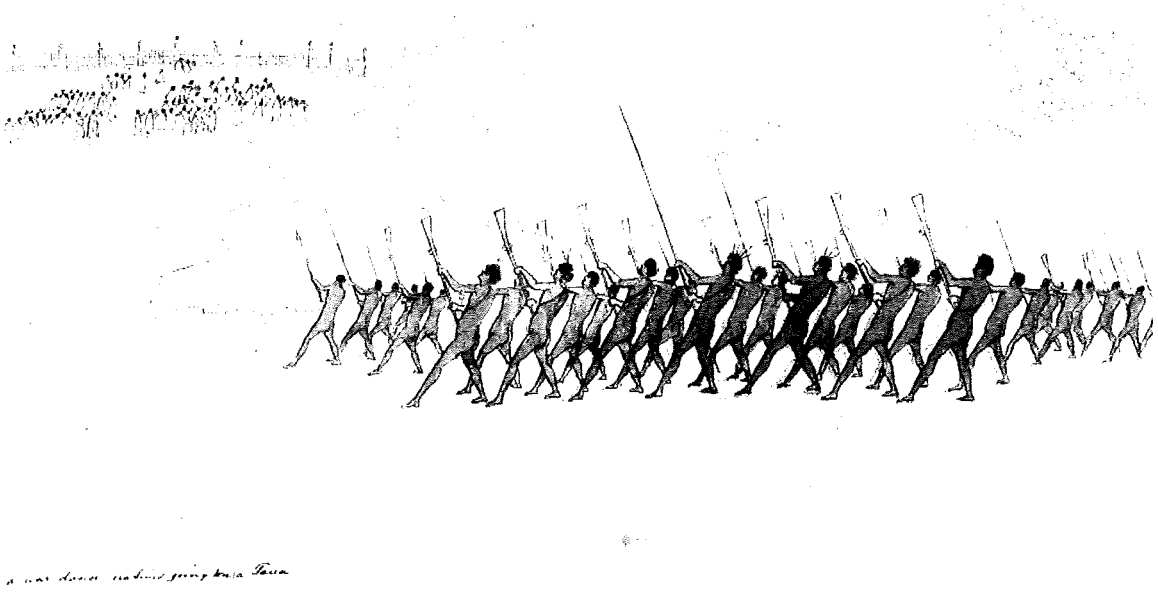

Figure 2.10 'A war dance [haka taua] Natives going to a Taua', attributed to Joseph Jenner Merrett, c. 1839-1841, location unknown, possibly Bay of Plenty area, ink and wash on paper, 194mm x 298mm, British Library, BL ADD. MS 19953 p. 119, plate 290

(figure 2.10), missionary accounts at the time tended to describe such performances with heavy moral overtones, as scenes of savagery, involving horrid yells and obscene gestures[24]. Yet the force of these experiences was great enough to cause the Chapmans to relocate to Mokoia Island, where they felt safer from attack. In 1838, visiting missionary William Wade described their new home:

> On the broad Totara slabs which formed the strength of the partitions, the adze had been so skilfully used, as almost to do the work of a plane. Between those slabs there was – first, upon the frame-work, a coat of reeds (*Arundo australis*), being much used for lining work – and over them a covering of small laths, in portions alternately stained black and red; the white grass, or kiekie (*Freycinesia banksii*) with which the laths were tied together, being crossed in a neat pattern. A fancy staining on the broad rafters, in form by no means inelegant, gave the interior of the roof the appearance of an ornamented ceiling (Wade, 1842: 148).

The mission house had been fashioned with carved poupou and woven tukutuku or turapa (carved and woven interior wall panelling) and painted with kowhaiwhai rafter designs, appropriate to chiefly dwellings or wharepuni (Prickett 1974; Neich 1994). If missionaries had intended to change the domestic practices of their 'native converts', in the early stages of missionary settlement their own domestic arrangements appear to have been more than comprised.

2.5 Accommodating visitors

As a slowly increasing number of European visitors began to filter through to the Rotorua district, travellers' accounts became published and available to potential emigrants and tourists. Similarly, around this time Gathercole notes the collecting of Maori cultural objects emerged as a popular activity, suggestive of an increasing access of visitors to Maori lands, settlements, people and objects (1978). In 1847, Dr John Johnson gave possibly the earliest account of 'tourist facilities' at Ohinemutu on the edges of Lake Rotorua. He described geothermal phenomena and a number of baths built along the water's edge fed by hot springs, and stayed "in a well built and commodious *ware* [whare], belonging to Hohepa [Joseph], one of the Christian teachers, who always accommodates respectable pakeha" (Johnson cited in Taylor 1959: 154).

[24] Such as missionary accounts recording the battle of Te Tumu, detailed in Stafford 1967: 237.

Early visitors to the region appear to have dwelt in close proximity with their Maori hosts, sharing accommodation, baths and meals, a situation that would bring differently held ideas of domestic life into contact and influence upon each other. Where basic domestic assumptions came to differ in the context of a visitor presence, the domestic space could become a constantly negotiated scene of communication and miscommunication, and possibly even one of affront and confrontation, as visitors and their social intrusion needed to be quite literally accommodated by Maori hosts. Whilst in certain regards the domestic space may be mundane when compared to elaborate ceremonial proceedings, practices within the home are often highly ritualised and may pertain to broader ontological understandings of being in the world.

As Bourdieu (1977) demonstrated, broadly held cosmological principles may inform the ways in which people live, behave and share space together, as these become worked out and negotiated on a daily basis through living habits and habitations. Whilst it would not be accurate to directly apply Bourdieu's observations to a nineteenth century Maori setting, his ideas prompt a consideration of how early voyage accounts and sketches may reveal something of the ritualised nature of domestic activities at the time. For example, in the mid nineteenth century, Louis A. de Sainson gave a detailed depiction of formal proscriptions pertaining to eating food for people of high birth who exist in a condition of intense tapu (figure 2.11). Sitting under a porch outdoors, Sainson depicts a highborn man and woman of the rangatira or chiefly class, who are being fed by common attendants in order to preserve and contain their personal tapu, which would be violated by coming into contact with food.

Eating outdoors keeps food out of contact with chiefly dwellings, which, Nigel Prickett found in his archaeological study of houses of this period, through contact became understood as indistinguishable from the personal tapu of their chiefly owners (Prickett 1974: 120). Correspondingly, some houses, and things within them, became endowed with greater mana and tapu than others, by virtue of the status of the tapu persons in contact with them. Things such as chiefly houses could also become personified as ancestors in their own right, embodying the group's ancestral mana and tapu directly in the carvings and weavings contained in them

Figure 2.11 'Personnages Taboues' drawn by Louis A. de Sainson during D'Urville's first visit to New Zealand in 1826-35, and published in J.S.C. Dumont D'Urville's *Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde*, Paris, 1835, Vol 2, Plate XLVII

Figure 2.12 Needlework sampler made by Ellen Thompson, c 1820, Te Whare Taonga o te Arawa Rotorua Museum, no catalogue number, 55cm x 35cm

(Prickett 1974: 140-41). Larger houses (wharepuni) were also shared spaces, where visitors would be accommodated and people might assemble to discuss matters of importance to the descent group. On such occasions, the scale of chiefly hospitality indexed the ability of leading members of the group to command resources and dispense them to guests, which in turn fostered a sense of general pride amongst all members of the host descent group (Best 1903: 156).

If practices within shared domestic spaces affect the way people think about and act in the world, then it follows that through influencing seemingly mundane personal habits, new ways of thinking and doing might be inculcated that affect received understandings of the nature of human ontological being-in-the-world. From the 1830s, both missionary and visitor presence would begin to introduce new ideas to do with the body, domestic order, cleanliness and holiness in accordance with Christian norms. Yet to witness novel practices and engage with novel things does not necessarily entail a shared ontological conceptualisation of what this might mean or do in the world. Whilst some initial adoption of introduced objects and related practices would indicate a level of influence upon locally held beliefs, and locally held practices and beliefs may, with time, become profoundly altered, it is unlikely that they would be instantly refigured.

Such difficulties in effecting changes in commonly held beliefs and practices are conveyed in Chapman's frustration that, "For these three years have I been unceasingly striving with those of my district to divide their houses into at least two, or three compartments, but hitherto in vain"[25]. A Maori observer appears to have been just as frustrated, even amused, by settler tendencies to order domestic space, objects and persons through ever-decreasing series of compartmentalisations:

> [W]hat wonderful people these pakehas [European settlers] are, they divide everything into rooms, they have rooms in their houses and rooms even in their clothes, and just as it is in their houses so is it in their clothes, they have one room appropriated to this another for that one to eat in another to sleep in another to cook in and in their clothes there is one pocket for the handkerchief another for papers another for the watch, another for key etc.[26]

An immodesty and sexual licentiousness imputed to local dress habits, particularly women's, by early European visitors to the East Coast region raised anxieties that

[25] Thomas Chapman (1846), Letters and Journals 1, MS: 56 (Auckland Institute and Museum)
[26] Anonymous, quoted in R. Taylor's Journal, IV, 11 April 1846, cited in Petersen (2001: 29).

would be played out throughout the nineteenth century in missionary attempts to re-clothe people in a manner considered to be appropriately modest, as part of a wider drive to convert Pacific islanders to Christianity (Colchester 2003)[27]. Lengthy swathes of restrictive, compartmentalising European dress shaped posture, redefining bodily movement, and in this sense operated a form of body modification, inculcating Christian ideals of bodily concealment and psychological and sexual inhibition in line with understandings of moral righteousness and purity.

In 1845, when American missionary Reverend Seymour Spencer and his wife Ellen Stanley Spencer established a mission on a site known as 'Te Rua a Umukaria' and renamed 'Kariri' (Galilee). 'Te Rua a Umukaria' refers to the grave of Umukaria, an ancestor of the Tuhourangi people, as it was here that a Tuhourangi war party found the head of Umukaria who had been killed by their adversaries[28]. Building a mission station and renaming the land in biblical terms – Kariri being a Maori transliteration of Galiliee – thus formed a physical overlaying of the beliefs, practices and relationships to land that Christian missionaries sought to displace.

Their 'choice' of settlement in the locale of Tarawera was itself a compromised response to the recent relocation of many Tuhourangi to this area, which in turn formed a response to increasing visitor interest (Stafford 1967: 330)[29]. Here, Ellen Spencer taught domestic skills to local Maori girls. Concern to clothe people extended to the domestic space: beds and pillows needed sheets and covers, tables needed cloths, windows needed curtains, and so on. Maintaining all these things was women's work and required a range of sewing skills that could be instilled through the practical making of things.

A sampler in Rotorua Museum made by Ellen Spencer (nee Thompson) suggests she taught needlework through this medium (figure 2.12). Clearly a cherished item, the sampler predates her departure from America and was brought to

[27] European visitors in the late eighteenth century encountered Maori women wearing aprons of plaited grass, "consisting of a number of platts or threads which form a pretty large roll: to this girdle are fastened the leaves of a plant by way of fig leaves' (Monkhouse 1769, in Beaglehole (ed) 1955: 586), who demonstrated little anxiety toward covering their chests, in fact some "readily uncovered their breasts" (*ibid*: 583). Noted elsewhere in the Pacific (Tcherkezoff 2003), this practice was often interpreted by Europeans visitors to indicate immodesty or sexual licentiousness (Salmond 1991: 345-6).

[28] Mita Taupopoki, Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao leader speaking at the Native Land Court Whakarewarewa Partition hearing, 22nd January 1889 (Rotorua Minute Book 16: 75-76).

[29] See chapter one, figure 1.2 for the location of Lake Tarawera.

Rotorua with her. Yet the sampler was less a decorative artwork than a technical exercise, a kind of needlework 'curriculum vitae' made by sewing samples of various stitches onto a rectangular piece of cotton or linen. This demonstrated competence in needlework and could be used to gain domestic employment. In addition to technique, samplers also demonstrated the ability to count and spell by embroidering letters, numbers and words in counted cross-stitch. Such tedious work would inculcate associations between cloth, morality and proximity to the divine, either directly by the embroidering of ecclesiastical quotations, or indirectly, by inculcating Christian virtues such as patience, discipline, and order.

As with the Chapmans', the Spencers' mission station comprised a locally built whare (dwelling) completed with interior tukutuku (turapa) reed walling. As Johnson observed, inside "the whole...was lined with coloured laths, and the reeds of the towitowi [toetoe], tied down by interlacings of tinted flax, the whole, forming an arabesque pattern, that displayed much taste in design"[30]. Despite appearances, within these dwellings it is likely that the Spencers and Chapmans entertained domestic practices different to Maori customs. Just as misunderstandings were likely to have been encountered when Maori received European visitors into their whare so missionaries receiving important Maori guests would be likely to experience some difficulties. Where people held different ideas about domestic cleanliness and personal hygiene, a simple offering such as a meal inside a house rather than outside, or the suggestion a guest should eat from shared cutlery touched by common people, rather than use their fingers, could become a locus of considerable anxiety, if not personal offence or even outright humiliation, as each party might consider the other to be acting in gross bad manners.

2.6 A Governor's visit to the district

Most personal encounters between host and guest would have gone unrecorded, however where hospitality was extended to figureheads of empire, such as colonial Governors and imperial Princes, we may be able to uncover some detail of them in the present. Sir George Grey, colonial Governor of New Zealand from 1845-1853, visited the Rotorua district in 1849 where he was privileged with an extensive tour of

[30] Dr. Johnson (1847) cited in Taylor (1959: 154).

certain locations that were beginning to emerge as the key 'sight-seeing' areas accessible to foreigners. These included Lake Tarawera and the silica terraces; Mokoia Island where Hinemoa, a Tuhourangi ancestress, bathed after swimming the lake to unite with her forbidden partner Tutanekai, of rival descent group Ngati Whakaue; Ohinemutu pa, with its carved palisades and fortifications; and the nearby kainga (settlement) Whakarewarewa, where residents live amongst geysers, hot pools and boiling springs (Cooper 1851: 210).

At Tarawera, the Governor and party were ceremonially received by local Tuhourangi people, who, waving red, white and blue blankets, and strips of calico, gave a lengthy powhiri of welcome, with many songs and speeches to greet their influential guest. Grey was shown the spectacular terraces on Lake Rotomahana, which at this point had been seen by only a few visitors. Merrett is one of the first visitors known to have depicted the spectacular white silica terrace, Te Tarata at Lake Rotomahana (figure 2.13). Facing Te Tarata stood a slightly smaller pink terrace called Otukapuarangi. Dazzled by their intriguing beauty, Johnson wrote a vivid description,

> On the side of a hill directly opposite rose an immense cone of rock, of a dazzling white colour, shaped from base to summit in a regular graduation of steps, down which poured streams of water, while from the highest point of the cone...rolled volumes of vapour...They formed the most beautiful natural baths, quite equal to anything of the kind that art could achieve[31].

Upon learning of the curative properties of the thermal waters of the region from his hosts, Grey expressed great interest in establishing a hospital that would be an 'infant Cheltenham'[32]. A Mr Cooper, present in the tour party, noted that word of his interest soon caught on, and as people began to imagine the potential value of hot springs in the region many laid claims to thermal areas, provoking descent group rivalries that resulted in confrontations of a great enough scale to have the whole idea dropped (Cooper 1851: 186). However, an Austrian geologist, Ferdinand von Hochstetter visited the region soon after and published a detailed scientific account of the chemical and medicinal properties of different thermal springs. His account may have contributed much to settler interests in the area and the hot springs as valuable assets (Hochstetter 1859).

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[31] Dr Johnson (1846) 'Notes from a Journal', cited in Locke and Paul (1989: 127)
[32] Thomas Chapman, Letters and Journals 1, MS 1: 359 (Auckland Institute and Museum)

Figure 2.13 'Rotomahana, one of the Rotorua Lakes with a view of the hot springs and the ascent to it by natural steps of salyx', attributed to Joseph Jenner Merrett c. 1839-1841, ink and pencil on paper, 194mm x 308 mm, British Library, BL ADD. MS 19953 p.99 plate 268

The terraces, and visitor interest in them, continued to draw people to Tarawera. By 1850 settlements in the area had expanded considerably as those who could claim a right, such as through conquest or ancestry, activated their customary rights to this increasingly valuable location, keeping their claim to the land 'warm' through practices of occupation such as dwelling and cultivation[33]. By 1852 disputes between the Tuhourangi, Ngati Pikiao and Ngati Rangitihi sections of the Arawa over occupation rights escalated into fighting, and in 1853 Tuhourangi challenged disputants to fight to determine which group would hold mana (customary authority) over these lands above all others. Tuhourangi won this fight, and made peace with the other parties on the condition that their claims to the area were dropped (Stafford 1967: 337-8).

2.7 Kingites and kupapa

During the 1850s, a political movement was established in the Waikato region known as the 'King movement', said to have been suggested by Tamihana Te Rauparaha who, having visited the Queen in Britain in 1831, returned home with the idea of establishing a unified Maori government led by a King who would negotiate with British Crown representatives regarding Maori lands (Cowan 1922: 150). Throughout the decade, various deputations of 'kingites' visited the Arawa and whilst opinions differed on the matter[34], on the whole, senior representatives of the Arawa declined to join the movement. Perhaps their preference for independence was bolstered by the prosperity of the region at the time, with cultivations of vegetables and wheat, herds of cattle and flourmills that assured them of regional autonomy (Webb 1949: 35). As well as autonomy from the King movement, Chapman noted that although the Arawa peoples were divided on the subject, at this prosperous stage, a larger portion of them remained "disinclined to any recognition of her Majesty as Queen"[35].

[33] Mita Taupopoki, 22nd January 1889, Rotorua Minute Book 16.
[34] For example, Ngati Rangiwewehi, a section of the Arawa, had important links to peoples of the Waikato through intermarriage hence a significant number of Ngati Rangiwewehi aligned with their relatives and the cause of the King movement in general.
[35] Thomas Chapman, Letters and Journals 1, MS 2: 472 (Auckland Institute and Museum)

Across the country by the 1860s Maori were rapidly becoming a minority on their own lands through a swamping influx of settlers, loss of life in conflicts, and perhaps more significantly through the spread of epidemic disease (Belich 1996: 232-34). Epidemics struck Te Arawa settlements, resulting in a loss of many lives and bringing the region into economic hardship. Perhaps as a result of these circumstances many in the region converted to Christianity (Stafford 1967: 365). It was in these conditions that a conference was held at Kohimarama (Auckland), during which a number of influential sections of the Arawa, including Whakaue, Tuhourangi and Pikiao, wrote letters pledging their wish to become one people bound to one mother, the Queen, not through blood but through law, and to agree the trust of their lands and possessions to the law[36].

On the ground, the situation may have been less straightforward than these pledges would imply. For example, at this time Ngati Rangitihi renounced fighting and pa building, and applied to the governor to resolve their land dispute at Tarawera peaceably (Stafford 1967: 354). This move was perhaps precipitated by their previous defeat by Tuhourangi, and suggests a co-option of the governor's potential mana (position of authority and influence), and the potential authority of the Queen's law, in an attempt to resolve a dispute in their favour, enabling them to reassert their mana or customary authority over valuable lands. Rather than renouncing age-old disputes, this new method of approach may have represented a potentially advantageous way of pursuing former rivalries through a novel medium.

As momentum for the King Movement gathered, in 1863 a number of supporters from the south wished to cross Arawa territory to make their way to the Waikato region. Access to Arawa lands was refused, effectively setting up a rahui, a customary boundary or restriction (White 1892: 275-6). To cross Arawa territory with a rahui in place would amount not only to trespassing, it would deny Arawa customary authority and influence over their ancestral lands. This would force them into a position of having to attack and expel trespassers from their lands, or else suffer a loss of mana (ancestral authority) (Best 1924: 390). In anticipation of these grave circumstances, Arawa leaders sought assistance from the colonial government in the form of arms and ammunition. And from 1864, in several significant conflicts,

[36] As reported in the *Maori Messenger* 30/11/1860 (cited in Stafford 1967: 495-500)

colonial troops assisted Arawa in defending their ancestral lands (Belich 1986: 235-46; Stafford 1967: 371-2).

From this point, when Arawa troops expelled 'kingites' from their ancestral territories, and in subsequent military engagements involving colonial troops, Arawa people in general became known as kupapa or 'loyal' and 'friendly tribes'[37]. However, as James Belich has argued, a sense of hapu and iwi descent groupings as their unit of collective action pervaded kupapa involvement with colonial troops, and in this sense kupapa "cannot be seen as quislings or traitors, because they acknowledged no entity higher than their tribal group. From their viewpoint the British were fighting for them and not vice versa" (Belich 1996: 246). On occasion, where "Kupapa Pakeha Maori" (Bentley 1999: 96-7) excelled in their services to Maori troops they might be accorded rangatira status and given valuable taonga or ancestral heirlooms, such as Captain Gilbert Mair who assisted the Arawa in their campaigns against Te Kooti in 1870-1872 (Tapsell 2000: 80). Similarly, Maori who excelled in martial services were accorded the title of Major and presented with ceremonial weaponry by Queen Victoria, such as Te Pokiha Taranui/Major Fox, who received a claymore sword for the same campaign (figure 2.14)[38].

Yet representatives of the colonial government tended not to be interested in portraying a complex politics of difference underlying Maori/settler conflicts during the late nineteenth century. For example, when colonial governor Sir George Bowen wrote to the British secretary of state in anticipation of a royal visit to New Zealand, he described the Rotorua region as "the country of the loyal clan of the Arawas, who have fought so long and so gallantly for the Crown, and whose loyalty will be at once confirmed and rewarded by a visit from the son of the Queen (cited in Loughnan 1902: 390). Here the governor represents the actions of the Arawa in terms of his government's desires, with little or no indication of settler co-option into hapu and iwi politics and the nature of Maori relationships to ancestral lands that informed their political allegiances.

[37] More accurately, Williams (1917 [1844]: 183) translates the term kupapa as 'to remain neutral', and points out the term was later applied to Maori perceived as 'friendly' during the 1860s, which is a different application of its meaning.

[38] *New Zealand Herald,* June 12, 1972. The presentation was said to have taken place on May 25, 1872.

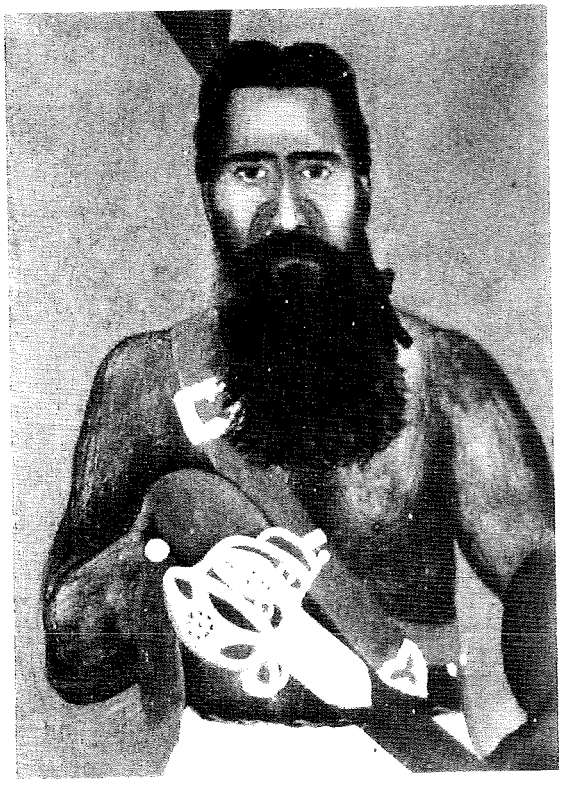

Figure 2.14: Te Pokiha Taranui/Major Fox, Ngati Pikiao, Te Arawa, with a claymore sword presented by Queen Victoria (Photograph: Rotorua Museum CP.106, courtesy Hemana whanau)

Figure 2.15 Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, son of Queen Victoria, 1870 (Stafford 1986: 132)

Either way a visit from Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, son of Queen Victoria (figure 2.15), to the region (as well as the more general suggestion that Arawa were 'loyal' and 'friendly') would do much to publicise Rotorua as a popular tourist resort. Whilst a visitor presence has been of social, political and economic significance to Arawa descent groups since the early 1820s, and earlier in northern and coastal regions (Bentley 1999), the scale of this significance was about to change significantly.

2.8 A royal tourist

Prince Alfred's visit to the Rotorua district in 1870 is said to be a defining moment in the emergence of organised tourism in the region (Stafford 1986: 77). In 1868 the first direct road connecting Rotorua to the coastline at Maketu was cut through dense bush, opening up these relatively inaccessible hinterlands to the international steam ships routes that stopped at the coastal ports of Tauranga and Maketu. Tourists came by this road almost immediately[39]. Yet in the preceding years, negotiations to enable the opening up of the region by road had been far from straightforward. The idea had been suggested by Governor Grey in 1846, and was raised again by government land agents and surveyors in 1860, 1862 and 1863[40]. On each occasion it was rejected. Te Pokiha Taranui, paramount leader of the Ngati Pikiao section who held substantial land interests in the Maketu region, voiced major objections to the scheme[41].

Protests were thwarted by the wars that broke out in the region, and five years later a road was allowed. Official reports suggest the road was built with Arawa consent in anticipation of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit (Loughnan 1902: 390), and perhaps Te Arawa had intended to flatter their distinguished visitor with such remarks. However, with the colonial government's introduction of a Native Lands Act in 1865 designed to enable Maori to sell land interests to settlers, and a District Land Court designed to adjudicate upon disputed Maori lands so as to ascertain the legal title necessary to secure sales, the colonial court had begun hearing cases on the

[39] For example Arthur Russell and Henry Bridge recorded 'A Trip Through New Zealand' along this route by 1868 (Rotorua Museum, unpublished manuscript).
[40] Thomas Chapman, Letters and Journals 1, MS 1: 325 (Auckland Institute and Museum)
[41] Reverend Baker, present at the 1863 meeting, reported some three hundred attendees of whom 'Kingites' opposed the plans, whereas others consented to the road but demanded a good price (cited in Stafford 1967: 365); Opponents are said to have threatened government land surveyors that they would 'eat them without salt' (cited in Stafford 1967: 366).

east coast[42]. Arawa people from the inland regions of Lake Rotorua were obligated to travel to Maketu and Tauranga to defend their land interests in court against coastal Ngai Te Rangi and Arawa descent groups, or lose them entirely, hence a direct route from Rotorua to Maketu and Tauranga was becoming crucial to local concerns at the time.

By 1870, Wairoa, a village close to the pink and white terraces, had become established as an accommodation centre for tourists arriving from the coastal regions of Tauranga and Maketu, on their way to Lake Rotomahana and the pink and white terraces. For tourists arriving from inland areas by horse-drawn buggy, Ohinemutu on the shores of Lake Rotorua formed a convenient stopping point before travelling on to Wairoa, Lake Rotomahana and the terraces. Both villages soon established themselves as hubs of communication and accommodation, and tourist facilities and services became increasingly organised, stimulating significant changes in domestic life in the surrounding area. For example, a carved meetinghouse at Taheke, a well-populated settlement on the Maketu-Rotorua road, was opened to visitors and seems to have impressed them greatly (Ollivier 1871). Also at Taheke, a restaurant and accommodation house was "erected by the natives, with excellent taste" (*ibid*) and let to Thomas Jackson Bennett by 1870 (Stafford 1986: 78)[43]. Named "The Duke of Edinburgh Restaurant", it is evident that local inhabitants expected a high-profile royal tour party would be likely to entail substantial commercial hospitality prospects for them.

It was by virtue of an important land case being heard by the Native Land Court in December 1870 that many Arawa groups had been allowed onto Ngai Te Rangi lands at Tauranga where the court was sitting, in order to represent their interests in court. This was despite ongoing hostilities between them. During this important hearing the Duke of Edinburgh's ship arrived, hence hundreds of people

[42] The 'Native Land Act' implemented in 1865 (which confirmed a former act of 1862) abolished the crowns right of pre-emption enabling Maori to sell their land interests to settlers. This in turn created a settler demand for security of individual title that had not previously existed. The act was intended to replace Maori customary collective land holdings with individualised legal title and it was designed with settlers' interests in mind. The 'Native Land Court' was established as a result of the Native Land Act as a legal forum in which to ascertain titles of ownership to Maori lands, which in turn would aid the lease and sale of lands to settlers and ensure them security of title.

[43] Possibly the first settler to do business at Rotorua, Bennett and his wife Raiha subsequently established a hotel at Ohinemutu. They have many descendants and are succeeded by a well-known and influential Arawa family by the name of Bennett.

already present in court were able to greet the royal party as they landed. Te Pokiha Taranui, Petera Te Pukuatua and another unnamed Arawa leader took the opportunity to pay insult to the mana of their longstanding Ngai Te Rangi rivals by intercepting the Duke of Edinburgh and greeting him with the customary ceremonial procedures of powhiri (ceremonial welcome)[44].

Effectively, the Arawa leaders had acted as if they held mana (ancestral authority) over Ngai Te Rangi lands. By acting as tangata whenua, as hosts receiving guests onto their ancestral lands, they usurped the rights of Ngai Te Rangi delivering a great insult to their mana (and elevating their own in the process). It is unlikely that the Duke and his entourage were aware of the pre-existing disputes they had just been co-opted into, even if they had read the newspapers reports of the considerable violence that broke out between the Arawa and Ngai Te Rangi parties after the royal party had returned to their ship[45]. As was often the case in official colonial accounts of Maori receptions to royalty (for example, Loughnan 1902), it was more likely to have been assumed that Maori were paying compliments to their royal guests, and not the other way around.

The following day, the Duke and his entourage were ceremonially received at Ohinemutu by the Ngati Whakaue section of the Arawa. The great powhiri welcoming ceremonies were led by Henare Te Pukuatua who performed the wero, the ceremonial challenge offered to visitors to ascertain whether they come in peace or otherwise. The powhiri ceremonies culminated in tremendous haka and poi dances, led by highborn Ngati Whakaue woman, Kiri Matao Te Tautahi, who subsequently became known as 'the Duchess' (figure 2.16). After sharing the natural outdoor bathing facilities at Ohinemutu, the party rode to Wairoa where they were ceremonially received by the Tuhourangi section of the Arawa. Ceremonial speeches were led by paramount leader Wi Keepa Te Rangipuawhe (figure 2.17), concluding with the presentation of several taiaha (long-handled weapon) and an historic mere (short-handled weapon) to the Duke (Loughnan 1902: 390; Stafford 1967: 135).

The next day, the royal party and their Arawa hosts proceeded to Lake Rotomahana in a fleet of eight or nine canoes camping overnight at Otukapuarangi,

[44] See Loughnan 1902, Appendix IV, for the official colonial-government's account of this reception.
[45] For example, *New Zealand Herald,* January 6, 1871

Figure 2.16 Kiri Matao Te Tautahi, The Duchess, a senior woman of Ngati Whakaue, Te Arawa (Stafford 1986: 119, courtesy Hamuera Mitchell whanau)

Figure 2.17 Wi Keepa Te Rangipuawhe, paramount leader of Tuhourangi, Te Arawa (Stafford 1986: 135)

the pink terrace, where hosts and guests again shared the enjoyment of outdoor bathing on the terraces, dinner and traditional performances of entertainments. The following day and night were spent at Ohinemutu village, where Spencer gave an Anglican service on the shores of Lake Rotorua. At Maketu, the party were given a poroporoaki, a farewell ceremony of speeches and song, and were shown around the pa (fortified settlement), the site of much conflict in recent years, before being escorted to their ship.

2.9 Reciprocal relations

Although it cannot be suggested that the Duke was fully incorporated into Arawa descent groups in a social sense, in his extensive weeklong tour of the district he appears to have been received with a remarkable degree of intimate inclusion – received by paramount leaders and elders of great local influence, privileged with great ceremony, presented with valuable gifts, shown magnificent and jealously guarded sites and hosted by high-born woman, Kiri Matao, the Duchess. These relatively open-ended responses to the presence of foreigners suggest the Duke and his party were distinguished guests that their Arawa hosts wished to pay compliment to (Polack 1838). The compliment would in principle have been reciprocated in that the mana (prestige) of receiving people of high social position and mana acquired by the dispensing generous hospitality to guests belongs to the hosts. By accepting their hospitality, the Duke and his party would acknowledge the customary authority of their hosts over their lands, and at the same time, become socially indebted to them (Polack 1838: 80; Best 1924: 374-378; Thomson 1842: 189-191; Firth 1929: 328)[46].

The suggestion of an intimate relationship between Prince Alfred and Kiri Matao remains today, as descendants continue to refer to their revered tupuna (ancestor) as the Duchess. Whether this naming is based on sexual encounter remains speculative. However, I suggest this act of renaming remains significant regardless of whether any physical encounter took place. Indeed, had there been such an encounter

[46] This position, inferred from mid to late nineteenth sources, is consistent with the principle of mana manaanki, of the mana (prestige, standing, group and personal honour) that can be acquired by giving generous hospitality to guests that continues to be expressed during both the formal hospitality of hui (ceremonial gatherings, usually held on marae, descent group ceremonial grounds) and more informally in the hospitality offered when receiving visitors in more informal settings, such as in the home or workplace.

it would be surprising to find anything more than indirect clues recorded in contemporary colonial or missionary accounts[47]. The implied social equality of such a union would run counter to a general official discourse of racial hierarchy and assumed 'white' superiority prevalent during the late nineteenth century. For those who upheld such notions, miscegenation would amount to a serious form of sexual transgression.

That this act of renaming remains significant among Te Arawa today, suggests an intimate association between Prince Alfred and Kiri Matao was entirely appropriate on local terms. Rather than a form of sexual transgression, mid to late nineteenth century sources frequently record customary practices of presenting puhi, high-ranking women, either in recognition for support during a conflict, or in the resolution of a lasting peace following major conflict. Their union would be expected to produce offspring and hence forge future relationships of political alliance based on the shared ancestry of all future descendants[48].

More generally speaking, it would seem that despite missionary policing of the boundaries of bodily experience with ideal moral codes of domestic gender separation, hygiene and 'decent' dress from head to toe, in the Rotorua district, such boundaries were liable to being constantly undone by local preferences for outdoor communal bathing, an activity which locals and travellers took evident delight in, regardless of prevailing missionary opinion[49]. Local oral accounts suggest that even the reverend Spencer transgressed his Christian morals, engaging in extra-marital relations. Local Maori pressed charges against him, to which he admitted, resulting in his expulsion from the Church Missionary Society from 1845-50, for a scandal "deeply affecting his moral character"[50].

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[47] For example, it was only several decades later that Gilbert Mair candidly recalled a personal visit to Ohinemutu with Anthony Trollope in 1872 during which Trollope and Mair took a night-time bath at their inn which they shared with three local women, including "a fine young woman...popularly known as 'the Duchess'" (Mair 1923: 149) During their bath Trollope is said to have commented, "Well Mair, this is very delightful, don't you think, but I think I did wise in leaving Mrs Trollope in Auckland" (*ibid*).

[48] Orbell (1991) records poetry composed by puhi women during the 19th century, expressing their feelings towards such obligatory unions; Biggs (1960) gives a detailed ethno-historical construction of customary Maori conjugal relations, and Heuer (1972) explores the same in relation to women's social roles; Stafford details incidents particular to the Arawa, in which women were presented in reward for services in war to forge future alliances (1967: 133).

[49] For example, Payton recorded that "many a pleasant swim have I had with the youth and beauty of Ohinemutu in this bath" (1888: 104).

[50] Brown of the Church Missionary Society, cited in Stafford (1967: 300-1)

Local customs, such as the presentation of puhi among social elites, or more generally of enjoying outdoor communal baths, are not necessarily indicators of a cultural 'sexual licentiousness', although early missionaries would do much to discourage open displays of nudity. In fact, in the mid to late nineteenth century, sexual relations that transgressed accepted customary codes of behaviour were of grave concern and were dealt with accordingly (Makereti 1938: 87). Where people born of senior descent lines or of influential social standing were concerned, an inappropriate sexual relationship termed puremu, 'adultery' in the sense of breaking Maori codes of conjugal relationship[51], would bring great shame upon not only the perpetrators but their entire descent group.

Similarly, this insult would be felt by not only the offended partner, but by all of his or her near relatives who may rightfully come to seek utu in payment for the insult. Less a matter of virtue in the eyes of a Christian god, puremu had immediate consequences for the offender and their immediate relatives. They may be challenged by a taua puremu, which Makereti observed was "a terrifying sight, yet a wonderful one" (1938: 106-7), whereupon a muru would take place, stripping them of all their valuable possessions in order to restore their honour. Among the rangatira classes of the highborn, where such misdemeanours could have serious consequences for chiefly lineages, the offender's lives may be taken in payment, which in turn could provoke warfare[52].

From around the 1820s Bentley notes the prevalence of conjugal unions between high-ranking Maori women and settlers deemed to be of a suitable class, such as early traders and businessmen, who were becoming increasingly beneficial to Maori. His research suggests these unions occurred to such a degree that they have added 'Pakeha' (European) ancestry to almost every Maori chiefly descent line (Bentley 1999: 163). Similarly, Makereti describes unions between wahine rangatira, highborn Maori women, and "rangatira Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irish men" from

[51] See Makereti (1938: 60-111), Biggs (1960) and Heuer (1972) for detailed accounts of customary marital practices and the consequences of their transgression. In the nineteenth century, Maori women recorded their own toward actual or intended sexual unions in customary fashion as waiata aroha or 'love songs' (for examples, see Ngata and Hurinui 1959).

[52] For example when Wahiao, the founding ancestor of the Ngati Wahiao people of Te Arawa, accused his nephew Whatumairangi of puremu ('adultery') with his wife Huruhina fighting broke out in which Whatumairangi was killed by Ngati Whakaue people, and subsequently Wahiao was killed in utu (return) for these incidents (Mita Taupopoki, 22nd January 1889, Rotorua Minute Book 16: 77-78).

around the 1840s or earlier, as highly desirable (1938: 108)[53]. In the Arawa district such unions often enabled commercial trade relations to expand, such as the flax for ammunition trade negotiated through Tapsell, and subsequently the leasing of Maori business interests to settlers, such as the Duke of Edinburgh Restaurant let to Bennett, described previously.

Following the royal visit, Tuhourangi erected an accommodation house at Kariri in commemoration of the occasion[54]. An early tourist described his very intimate and communal accommodation among local people, sharing a bedroom, eight foot by eighteen foot, with twenty Maori women, their children and a hundred weight of green tobacco steaming on the walls (Tinne 1873: 17). Queen Victoria sent presents to Ngati Whakaue and Tuhourangi in acknowledgment of their kindness – a large, silk union flag was presented to the Rangipuawhe family of Tuhourangi, with the inscription "Tuhourangi Te Arawa 1870" emblazoned across a golden crown and crest motif; and a carved wooden bust of Queen Victoria presented to Ngati Whakaue, and ceremonially unveiled at Ohinemutu by the Governor General inside the recently refurbished ancestral meetinghouse, Tamatekapua, in 1884[55]. As return presentations coming from the royal household, these gifts might have been considered as affirming a relationship between Queen Victoria's family and chiefly families of Te Arawa, a close personal bond having already been suggested by the Duke of Edinburgh's intimate stay amongst them.

During the unveiling ceremony, Wi Maihi Te Rangikaheke reminded the Governor of the Arawa's recent services in war and spoke of local desires that Arawa land interests be protected by the Queen from both private land companies and the government native land purchasing department. The Governor in his return speech spoke of the desirability of building a railway line to connect Rotorua to Auckland, which, he ensured, would bring locals incalculable benefits[56].

Erected at Ohinemutu in 1872, by the late 1880s Tamatekapua was a location for land court hearings, amongst many other local uses (Payton 1888: 113-115).

[53] But not, she adds, with the pakeha "tino rora", "pretty low down", or the "pakeha tino taurekareka" the "very low down indeed" from whaling vessels (Makereti 1938: 109, footnote 1).
[54] *London Spectator,* November 4, 1871, cited in Stafford 1967: 87.
[55] There is some confusion as to the date of presentation, which was reported in the *Bay of Plenty Times* as occurring on March 27, 1884, but announced two years previously in the same paper on April 26, 1882.
[56] *Bay of Plenty Times,* March 27, 1884

Sittings were conducted with great ceremony, as songs and speeches were delivered to officiate ceremonial proceedings, and also formed part of the customary evidence given in court. The bust of Queen Victoria was placed on a table inside the meetinghouse, as if to bear influence upon the proceedings, and stood there for several years (Mason 1892; Anon. 1891: 51), before being relocated in 1897 onto Te Papa-I-Ouru marae (ceremonial courtyard) under a specially carved pedestal to celebrate Queen Victoria's diamond Jubilee[57]. As with the reception given to the Duke of Edinburgh in 1870, so the reception of the bust appears to be entangled amid concerns to protect customary authority over lands, whilst also negotiating an increasing settler presence and the development of a visitor industry.

2.10 Creative responses to a visitor presence

The various Maori/European encounters detailed thus far in this chapter reveal that transactions occurring in a post-European period may often be understood not as those between 'Maori' and 'European', but as a number of ongoing complex regional alliances and disputes occurring between different hapu and iwi descent groups that may stretch back for generations, even though they may be creatively meted out through a variety of novel avenues made possible via incoming persons, things and resources. Past grievances are not forgotten but continue to inform present actions, and may re-surface in post-European settings, expressed through novel relationships and taking on contemporary forms.

Historically deep-rooted regional rivalries continue to be expressed, whether through 'conversion' and the acquisition of a missionary and their goods, or through the receiving of politically, economically or socially significant guests – be they missionaries, colonial governors, royals on tour, settler-traders, or visiting tourists in general. In this sense, a particular kind of rivalry over rights in valuable resources remains a continuous practice, although the conceptualisation of what constitutes a valued resource appears to be highly dynamic – from kokowai (red ochre) sites or bird-hunting grounds in the early nineteenth century[58], to missionaries and mission

[57] *Rotorua Morning Post,* 6th March 1933

[58] Knowledge of such jealously guarded sites was frequently given in land court hearings as evidence of occupation and hence customary authority (mana) over lands and resources (see the Maori Land Court Minute Books, available in district Land Court offices and in the New Zealand and Pacific Collection, Auckland University).

stations in the mid nineteenth century, to thermal springs and silica terraces in the latter nineteenth century, each can be claimed by one group in ongoing rivalry expressed in terms of mana, or divine authority and influence, and utu, a principle of reciprocal return, friendly or hostile, vis a vis other descent groups within the Arawa district and beyond into other descent group areas.

From this perspective, European access to lands, people and things in the Rotorua region from the 1830s to the 1870s appears significantly compromised by local concerns and practices. Whilst an increasing settler and visitor population influenced local social life and practices considerably, processes of incorporation and accommodation often appear contrary to settler and visitor expectations and suggest significant levels of concession. However, this should not be taken to imply that local responses to outside presences tended to be conservative rather than creative (c.f. Sahlins 1985). Clearly, whilst Arawa hosts received their visitors in customary fashion, it is evident such occasions were expected to bring forth novel social, political and economic opportunities. Thus the notion that new arrivals are understood in terms of customary categories (Thomas 1991) appears to be an overly conservative one.

Rather, theories of colonial exchange in the Pacific need to account for ongoing creativity and innovation as processes that occur through customary practices rather than against them. As this chapter demonstrates, by as early as 1870 a tourist presence had stimulated significant changes to social life and practices in the Rotorua district, creative responses to a visitor presence that intensified from the 1870s as an increasing number of tourists arrived in the region.

Industrialisation in Europe had enabled the emergence of a wealthy imperial and settler-colonial leisure class, for some tourism was becoming a viable lifestyle option made possible through the construction, interconnection and expansion of steamer, rail and road routes across the empire. From around this period, a substantial number of travel guidebooks appeared for sale in Britain that frequently contained advertisements for steamship travel, or were published by steamship companies. For example, the Union Steam Ship Company of Dunedin, New Zealand, published a brochure depicting a romantic image of a semi-nude young Maori woman, juxtaposed with a quote from Shakespeare, "The climate's delicate; the air

most sweet; fertile the isle", nostalgic in its imagination of pre-European dress, the image is also highly suggestive of sexual encounter (figure 2.18).

Whilst such accounts continued to fashion a nostalgic image of Maori past, describing Arawa lands and settlements generically as 'Wonderland' or 'Maoriland' (Payton 1888: 99), with the development of dry-plate outdoor photography from around 1871 (Pols 1992: 12), such romantic images would begin to sit awkwardly with the visual reality of photographs taken in the region, revealing illuminating disjuncture and contradiction between them. This reality was one of increasing provision of organised services for visitors, including accommodation, subsistence and transport across lakes and vigorous terrain. Local guides were available for hire to convey tourists to sites of spectacular geothermal scenery, such as the vast silica terraces (figure 2.19 and 2.20) now of international renown.

In these times, a guide was a necessity rather than a luxury, as a tourist to the region advised, "one must take care only to go where the guide tells you...for many have come to grief in being too wise in their own conceit" (Vesey-Stewart 1883: 13). Guiding to the terraces was a particularly arduous activity, involving rowing by whaleboat and canoe from Wairoa across Lake Rotomahana. Both Tuhourangi and Ngati Hinemihi descent groups held interests in these lands, and both levied access fees to visitors, leading some visitors to complain of extortion. Hotel commissions and visitor preferences for particular guides added to the rivalry, and as a result an official scale of fees were drawn up for boat, crew, creek canoe and paddlers, calibrated in accordance with the size of the tour party, authorised by Maika Keepa, secretary to the Tuhourangi Komiti (Committee) in 1884 (Waaka 1982: 21-2).

In addition to transportation and guiding fees, charges were being levied by some local people for the privilege to draw sketches or take photographs of the terraces. Whilst Awekotuku suggested a fee was levied perhaps "to supplicate the sense of guilt, or fear, Tuhourangi experienced in permitting the pakeha to 'steal' the image of Te Tarata, thereby reducing its mauri or mystical essence" (1981: 54), notices posted at Wairoa suggest other interpretations. For example, a notice posted on the 14th of April 1876, by Kerehoma Te Wharetotara, stated that anyone visiting the terraces on a Saturday or Sunday would be fined £1 for breaking the word of the

Figure 2.18 'New Zealand The Wonderland of the World', frontispiece to a travel guide published by the Union Steam Ship Company, NZ Ltd, Dunedin, in 1889 (Private collection)

Figure 2.19 Te Tarata (white terrace), 1885 (Photograph: Burton Brothers, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa)

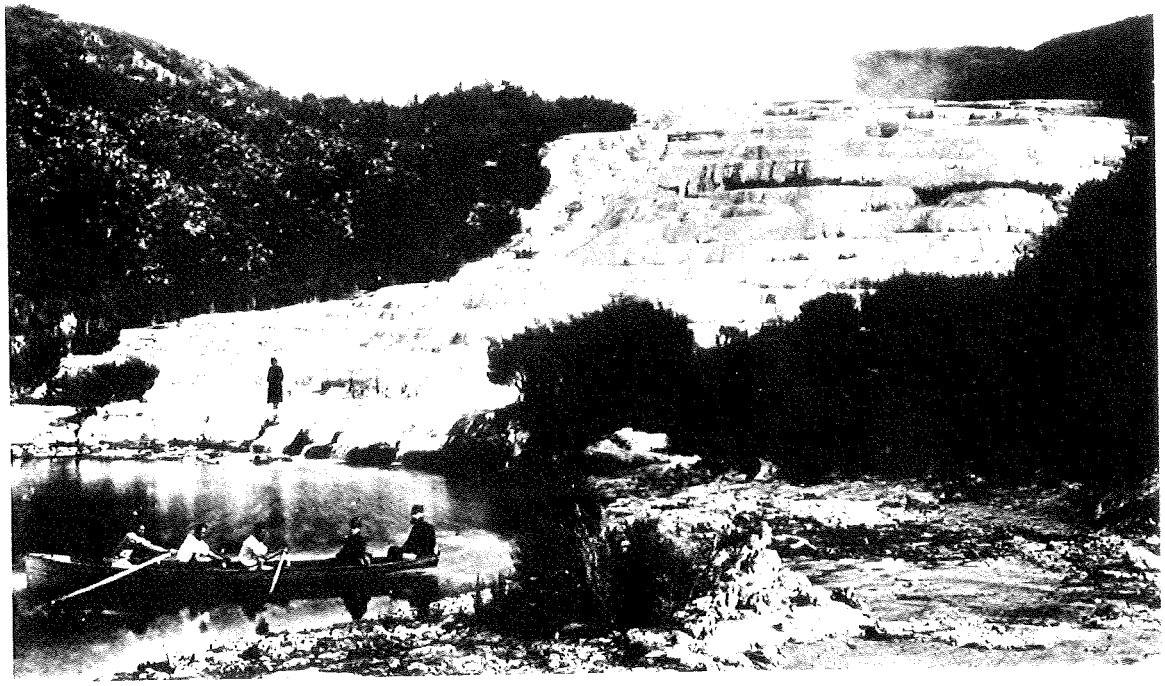

Figure 2.20 Otukapuarangi (pink terrace), 1885 (Photograph: Burton Brothers, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa)

Lord, the money to be devoted towards the propagation of the gospel[59]. Another poster declared, "TO THE EUROPEANS who visit Rotomahana; who photograph at that place. They are to give Hoani Kahutaka Five Pounds (£5)... The reason...is that they will receive a great deal of money for their photographs when exhibited for sale."[60] Clearly people were aware of the global commercial implications of photography and, whilst some were against trade on the Christian Sabbath, others wished to be duly recompensed for commercial opportunities reaped on their lands. Fines had also been introduced in the 1870s as a deterrent, to prevent damage caused by tourists leaving graffiti on the terraces and taking encrustations away from thermal features at Whakarewarewa[61]. As Vesey-Stewart observed by 1883, the terraces "look in places more like the advertisement sheet of a newspaper than anything else. Who cares to know...that James Smith is an ironmonger from Sheffield...?" (1883: 13).

The services of a guide could be obtained by attaching a note onto the un-carved stomach area of a carved Aukati post named Umukaria after the Tuhourangi ancestor (Neich 2001: 55) (figure 2.21). Aukati means to limit access (Williams 1917: 26), conveying the notion of a prohibition, such as a toll, to enter onto a descent group's ancestral lands. In this way, particular guides could be requested, such as those known to visitors through mention in guidebooks or illustration in photographs. In the 1870s and early 1880s, the best-known guides were Guide Sophia, locally known as Te Paea Hinerangi, and Guide Kate Middlemass, locally known as Rangitukia, women who embodied qualities that appealed to visitors. Both women were of mixed parentage, and spoke fluent English. Guide Sophia's long black hair, moko kauwae (chin and lip tattoo) and large pounamu hei tiki appealed to visitor curiosity, as her habit of smoking a clay pipe amused. Both women wore red petticoats and a red scarf about the neck, suggesting an early form of guiding uniform (Froude 1892: 243; Vesey-Stewart 1883: 11) (figure 2.22).

It is interesting to note that in this photograph, a postcard produced by the national tourist department, the European garments worn by Guides Sophia, Kate and

[59] *Bay of Plenty Times,* 20th May 1876 (cited in Stafford 1986: 93)
[60] *Bay of Plenty Times,* 9th September 1876 (cited in Stafford 1986: 94)
[61] Letter from Tawa/Gilbert Mair to the editor of Te Waka Maori/The Waka Maori newspaper, Ohinemutu, June 14, 1876 (private collection)

Figure 2.21 Local women guides at the Tuhourangi village of Wairoa, standing by a carved Aukati post, where tourists attached notes to request their services, 1885 (Photograph: Burton Brothers, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa)

Figure 2.22 Hinemihi meetinghouse with Guides Sophia Hinerangi and Kate Middlemass, and Hinerata, wife of Aporo Wharekaniwha, 1880 (Photograph: Charles Pullman for the New Zealand Government Tourist Department)

Hinerata have been worn off the shoulder as if to disguise their presence beneath long korowai cloaks and suggest nudity. This creates a nostalgic depiction of Maori dress in pre-European times, reminiscent of the romantic drawing on the frontispiece of the Union Steam Ship Company brochure (figure 2.18). By comparison, the group portrait of local guides (figure 2.21) reveals European clothing had been adopted at the time. It also suggests a local style of wrapping a cloak or blanket over European clothing, either about the shoulders or the waist, the wearing of a headscarf or neckerchief by women, and perhaps also a selection of brightly coloured and patterned designs.

From their inception, commercial hospitality also included a significant cultural component. Visitors to the district typically enjoyed not only striking scenery, but also evening performances of traditional songs and dances held inside the recently constructed large meetinghouses of Tamatekapua (figure 2.23) of Ngati Whakaue at Ohinemutu, and Hinemihi (figure 2.24) of Ngati Hinemihi at Wairoa. The scale of construction and ornamentation of these houses indexed the general level of collective wealth generated through tourism related services. Hinemihi in particular boasted eyes made of gold sovereigns rather than the usual paua shell (Gallop 1998: 33). Accounts of concerts from this period describe organised commercial performances of haka (posture dance), given by large groups of forty or so men and women, young and old. Observers note the striking unison of their delivery of dance in rank and file, with a leader to stir the group up, as they respond to his calls, keeping time by stamping the feet on the ground and clapping the hands onto the chest (Buchner 1878; Russell-Coates 1885; Senior 1880). Senior noted the principal women performers dressed in white muslin bodices with short scarlet petticoats, decorating their hair with flowers, whilst the men wore blankets twisted about their loins. His account of the excitement of their unanimous delivery of haka (posture dance) is worth quoting at length:

Figure 2.23 Tamatekapua Meetinghouse, Te Papa-I-Ouru Marae, Ohinemutu. This version of the house was begun in 1864 and completed in 1873 (Photograph: Rotorua Museum)

Figure 2.24 Hinemihi Meetinghouse, Te Wairoa. Aporo Wharekaniwha and his hapu, Ngati Hinemihi, stand in front of their newly built house, adorned with exterior and interior carvings, painting and woven panels. Work on this house began in 1880 and was completed in 1881 (Photograph: Burton Brothers)

> As the fugleman worked himself almost frantic, the performers got excited too; the movement with hand and foot quickened and strengthened; and at intervals the performers shouted a deep-drawn and prolonged "Hah-hah-ah", accompanied by a quivering outward and upward movement of the hands. The strict time of the chant was never lost, and when the movement was at its height the excitement was catching. The movement and sounds swept you along with it...The two leading women were admirable actresses, throwing themselves heart and soul into the spirit of whatever was going, becoming positively ecstatic when the topic was love, and hideously furious in war (*ibid*: 233).

As well as performances of songs and dances, tourists' ethnographic interests included the collection of objects, a demand met by the emergence of early forms of souvenirs from around 1870 (Neich 2001: 236). Some of these locally made portable objects would make their way back to Europe, in amongst the luggage imperial tourists took back with them, or the packages settlers sent to their relatives back 'home'. However, collecting practices do not appear to have entailed a free-for-all. Comments in travel guides suggest that tourist access to certain places and objects continued to be somewhat restricted, in accordance with customary ideas of collectively held property and the rules of tapu. Generally speaking, Payton observed, "Most of their property belongs to the tribe, not to individuals" (1888: 105), and more specifically, Lady Gordon-Cumming learned that, "a few pieces of quaint, grotesque old Maori carving lie about the place, rotting on the ground; and none dare carry them away for their ownership is disputed, and the place is tapu" (1881: 29-30).

Hence, even with the emergence and expansion of an increasingly organised tourism industry in the Rotorua district in 1870s and 1880s based on locally developed services such as tour guiding, commercial performances and the manufacture of souvenirs, it remains possible to detect numerous ways in which European access to Maori settlements, experience of social practices and collection of cultural artefacts may have been both locally enabled and constrained. To explore this idea from the perspective of resultant collections in Europe, in the next chapter I begin with a consideration of some of the Maori cultural artefacts that made their way from the Rotorua region to Britain.

CHAPTER THREE

ORGANISED TOURISM AND EARLY SOUVENIRS

3.1 Introduction

Parallel to the emergence of tourism in the Rotorua district from the mid nineteenth century that has been traced in chapter two, Gathercole notes a major period of acquisition of Maori cultural artefacts by both private individuals and museum curators in Britain and Europe more generally (1978: 277)[1]. These 'souvenirs' of imperial travel, making their way into metropolitan homes, auctions and museum collections often arrived with minimal information regarding their provenance and the nature of the relationships through which they were acquired (Starzecka 1998: 148). This observation immediately limits the scope of a theoretical position I developed in chapter two – that collections, as indices of materially mediated social relations, offer a mode through which we might productively explore these relations – because it suggests things may be revealing of metropolitan activities rather than situations of travel, encounter and the negotiated creation of tourist arts that this thesis is concerned with.

Despite these rather glum predictions, my inquiry to see items in the British Museum known to have originated from the Rotorua Museum was a productive one[2], and I was able to visit, observe, photograph and document numerous pieces from the region, some of which were suggestive of surprisingly intimate Maori/European relations. However, there exists a striking break in British Museum collecting practices between the early and late twentieth century, that is, amongst other reasons, indicative of a salvage paradigm. This break necessitates exploration of the culture history of the Rotorua region through other avenues. By returning to the scene of acquisition of these pieces, in this chapter I describe my arrival in Rotorua, evoking a

[1] For a survey listing these many items from New Zealand that made their way into European museums see David Simmons (1978)

[2] Admittedly from a Maori collection numbering around three thousand pieces (Starzecka 1996: 148), the fraction of pieces that can be given a definite provenance is numerically small, but I argue such pieces remain qualitatively significant in terms of the relations of exchange they can reveal.

palpable sense of the place, people and tourist activities today, through a personal account of my 'arrival story', and the ceremonial proceedings through which my access was negotiated.

Using a vivid combination of visual, material and textual sources, I consider changes occurring in the region between the 1880s and 1900, a time in which major shifts in the balance of power relations between Maori and settlers occurred. In the previous chapter I traced the emergence of a primarily Maori-operated tourism industry, in which settler-businesses operated at the behest of Maori patrons and in accordance with customary obligations to the wider descent group. By the close of the twentieth century these relations had changed dramatically, and key European individuals and groups were emerging as significant patrons of Maori activities, the ramifications of which are explored in depth in chapters four and five. Hence this chapter forms a pivotal point between these situations, providing an account of how such changes could so rapidly come about, and suggesting that during this period of tremendous upheaval and loss, the creation of novel souvenirs, entertainments and tour-guiding practices may have offered a limited, but crucial means of obtaining a livelihood, and of flexibly adapting to changing circumstances.

This chapter is in a sense an open-ended introduction to many of the key places, people and things that will become increasingly significant as the thesis proceeds. Questions are raised, issues highlighted and details of objects and practices are included that are not resolved in this chapter, but act as initial clues that shall be returned to subsequently in the relevant areas of the following chapters. Moving from Britain to Rotorua, and jumping from past to present, each section is richly illustrated to evoke a sense of the tactility of our encounters with distant places and times, beginning with a detailed account of pieces from Rotorua in the British Museum.

3.2 A trail of things: from Rotorua to the British Museum

The British Museum's ethnographic storeroom is located in an unobtrusive and quiet side street near Hackney in east London. Here, various Maori cultural artefacts known to have originated from the Rotorua region were brought out from cupboards, drawers, boxes, containers and tissue wrappings for me to observe, photograph and make notes from the museum registers. I was shown an old carved tekoteko (ancestor

figure) and koruru (ancestral face) (figure 3.1) that would once have sat at the apex of the two large frontal maihi (gables), forming part of the impressive carved frontage of ancestral meetinghouses – distinctive architectural structures that continue to form a significant focal point in Maori social life. This particular carving was collected by a Captain Owen Stanley from around 1860 and was acquired by the museum as part of the Henry Christy Collection, presented after his death in 1865. Although documentation accompanying this collection was poor (Starzecka 1998: 152), the New Zealand ethnologist and leading authority on Maori carving Roger Neich has suggested this piece originates from the Rotorua region[3].

Also from a meetinghouse was a large heavy poupou, an interior carved wall panel (figure 3.2), collected by Hon. Algernon Tollemache probably between 1850 and 1873. This piece was purchased by the museum in 1894 from Lady Ada Sudley, niece of Tollemache, along with a small collection of other architectural pieces[4] said to be 'from a pah in the Bay of Plenty'[5]. Neich suggests this poupou is likely to be a mid-nineteenth century work by Ngati Pikiao carvers of the Arawa descent group from the Rotorua region (1998: 71).

In an opened cupboard were large carvings from an old pataka, a prestigious chiefly storehouse, too large and heavy to be easily unpacked[6]. A large triangular shape across each of the maihi (gables) depicts a whale (figure 3.3), conveying a sense of largesse and of the abundant foodstuffs once stored within it. These were purchased in 1892 from a Mr Alfred Fowler, employee of a well-known steam engine manufacturer from Leeds, who, when travelling abroad on business, also engaged in collecting (Davis 1951: 232, cited in Starzecka 1998: 152). In a letter accompanying the sale Fowler wrote, "The boards you have I bought from a Maori's whare about 20 miles from Rotorua...I saw them in situ & the owner only sold them because he had fallen on evil days"[7].

[3] Jill Hassell, pers. comm. June 2001; see Neich (2001) for a detailed history of woodcarving in the Rotorua region.
[4] Items BM Ethno.1894.7-16.
[5] BM Ethno. Corr. Sir Lyonel Tollemache 18.4.1996, cited in Starzecka (1998: 152)
[6] Items BM Ethno.1892.12-11.1-5
[7] BM MLA Corr. A. Fowler 3.12.1892, cited in Starzecka (*ibid*)

Figure 3.1 Tekoteko, attributed to the Rotorua region by Roger Neich, BM Ethno.1638, Height 113cm

Figure 3.2 Poupou, meetinghouse interior wall panel, depicting an ancestor holding a Wahaika weapon with the descending generation beneath, likely to be a mid-nineteenth century carving by Ngati Pikiao carvers of the Arawa, Rotorua, British Museum BM Ethno.1894.7-16.2, Length 146.5 cm. (Photograph Neich 1998: 71)

Figure 3.3 Portions of carvings from a pataka, a carved storehouse - above is a portion of a paepae, frontal carving, BM Ethno.1892.12-11.1, Length 237cm; beneath are two maihi, gable carvings, BM Ethno.1892.12-11.2-3, Lengths 196cm and 197cm. (Photograph: British Museum V/25)

Figure 3.4 Taupua Te Whanoa (life-size facial cast), a revered ancestor of Ngati Whakaue, Ohinemutu, Rotorua, BM Ethno1854.12-29.93

Although collected in the latter part of the nineteenth century when, for reasons outlined in the previous chapter, a visitor presence was emerging in the Rotorua district, these pieces were made for local requirements and were not explicitly intended for exchange with visitors. They are certainly far from being easily portable. Gathered by early, relatively affluent nineteenth century travellers – an aristocrat, a naval captain sailing to a recently declared 'British protectorate', and, later in the century, an ambitious industrial middle-class businessman looking to expand his trade – these items are not what we might expect 'tourist arts' to be, that is, small, portable items designed with a visitors' collecting taste in mind (c.f. Graburn 1976). Prior to the encounters and transactions that brought these pieces to Europe these items were likely to have been considered as taonga, heirloom-like ancestral objects that embody relationships between the people of a regional descent group and their ancestral lands (Tapsell 1997). From the museum's catalogue information it is not possible to detail any of the transactions that enabled their removal to Britain. However, Fowler's comment of declining prosperity as the determining factor of an otherwise reluctant sale is perhaps a significant clue.

A particularly intimate object in the collection is a facial cast of Taupua Te Whanoa (figure 3.4), presented to the British Museum by Sir George Grey in 1854. Taupua Te Whanoa is a revered ancestor of Ngati Pukaki, a hapu of the Ngati Whakaue section of the Arawa. His face and paruhi (facial ta moko or 'tattoo' design) were recognised by direct descendant, Museum Anthropologist Paul Tapsell, when visiting the museum. Taupua Te Whanoa permitted Sir George Grey to take a cast of his face during his visit to Rotorua in 1849, whilst in the influential position of colonial governor. Given that he was a great leader of esteemed chiefly lineage, being a direct descendant of an important koromatua (eponymous ancestor) Pukaki, who begat Ngati Pukaki, Taupua Te Whanoa's head would have been considered intensely tapu (sacred). The creation of this facial cast thus suggests a considerable degree of trust and respect existed between Taupua Te Whanoa and Sir George Grey at this time.

In 1902, a substantial model waka taua (war canoe) was loaned to the museum (figure 3.5), forming part of a large deposit of gifts received by the Duke

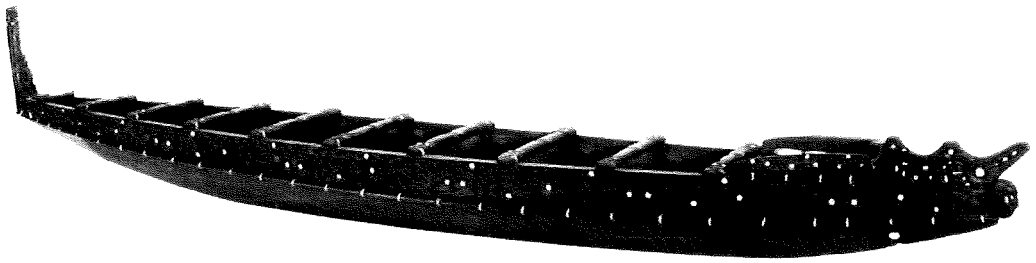

Figure 3.5 Model Waka Taua (war canoe) named 'Te Arawa', gifted to the British royal family in June 1901, carved by Anaha Te Rahui, Neke Kapua and Tene Waitere, Ngati Tarawhai, Rotorua, BM Ethno.Q95.Oc2, Length 311cm (Photograph: British Museum MM039389)

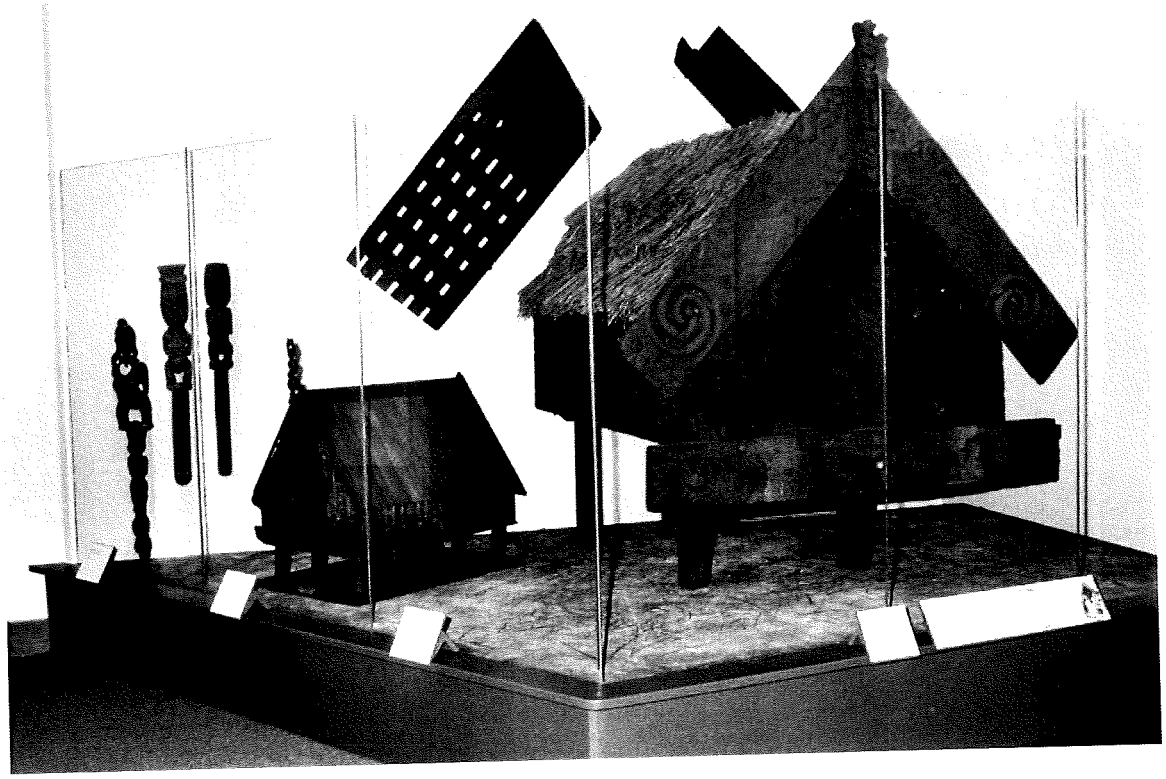

Figure 3.6 Model Pataka, once belonging to Makereti/Guide Maggie and carved by Tene Waitere, Ngati Tarawhai, Rotorua, c. 1905-1910, BM Ethno.1933.7-8.1, Height c. 3m (Photograph: British Museum MM034571/29)

and Duchess of Cornwall and York[8] whilst on a tour of New Zealand and other British colonies during 1901. This model had been presented to their royal highnesses by paramount Ngati Pikiao leader, Te Pokiha Taranui, on behalf of all Arawa descent groups during a ceremonial welcome given to them at Rotorua in June 1901. The Arawa commissioned the piece from expert Ngati Tarawhai (Arawa) carvers, Anaha Te Rahui, Neke Kapua and Tene Waitere, around the turn of the twentieth century (Loughnan 1902: 106, 183-5; Neich 1998: 103, 2001: 360).

I was shown pieces of a substantial model pataka (storehouse), attributed to Ngati Tarawhai carver Tene Waitere sometime between 1905 and 1910 (Neich 2001: 316). Dismantled for storage, this model pataka had recently been on display as part of the exhibition *Maori* (figure 3.6, far right), held in 1998 (the first ethnographic exhibition in many years to be held at the British Museum's main site rather than in the Museum of Mankind). Presented to the British Museum in 1933 by a Mrs Todd, this pataka once belonged to Makereti (also known as Margaret Thom and Guide Maggie Papakura) and had formed part of a model Maori village. The village was erected at Melbourne Oval, Victoria[9] and then at Clontarf in Sydney, New South Wales[10] (figure 3.7) by a large Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao (Arawa) concert troupe when on tour in 1910, organised by Makereti, choreographed by her sister Bella Wiari (nee Thom) and officiated by paramount elder Mita Taupopoki. The troupe travelled by ship to London in 1911, reinstalling their village at the Festival of Empire exhibition, Crystal Palace, and then relocating to the Coronation exhibition at White City, Shepherd's Bush[11], for celebrations surrounding the crowning of George V[12].

[8] Also known as the Prince and Princess of Wales, and from 1910 as King George V (grandson of Queen Victoria) and Queen Mary.

[9] "Group of Maoris at the 'Maori village' now open at the Exhibition Oval, Melbourne" cut from *Punch,* November 17' 1910, in Makereti Papers Box IX M24020-21, pp 64-5 Green Album, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

[10] "The Maori Village at Clontarf" cut from *The Sun*, Sunday December 25 1910, in Makereti Papers Box IX M24020-21, pp 62-63 Green Album, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

[11] "The Maori village at the Coronation Exhibition", cut from *The Sphere* July 8, 1911 in Makereti Papers Box IX M24020-21, p. 62 Red Album, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford

[12] Makereti later married an Englishman from Oxford, Captain Richard Staples-Brown, becoming Mrs Margaret Staples-Brown, and moved to Oxfordshire where she took a degree in anthropology at Oxford University in the 1920's. Her studies were published as *The Old time Maori* (Makereti 1938) following her tragic and untimely death in Oxford in 1930. Makereti bequeathed her study notes to the Pitt Rivers Museum[12], including two news cuttings albums and a collection of personal photographs of her life and career in Rotorua and overseas from which much of this information has been drawn.

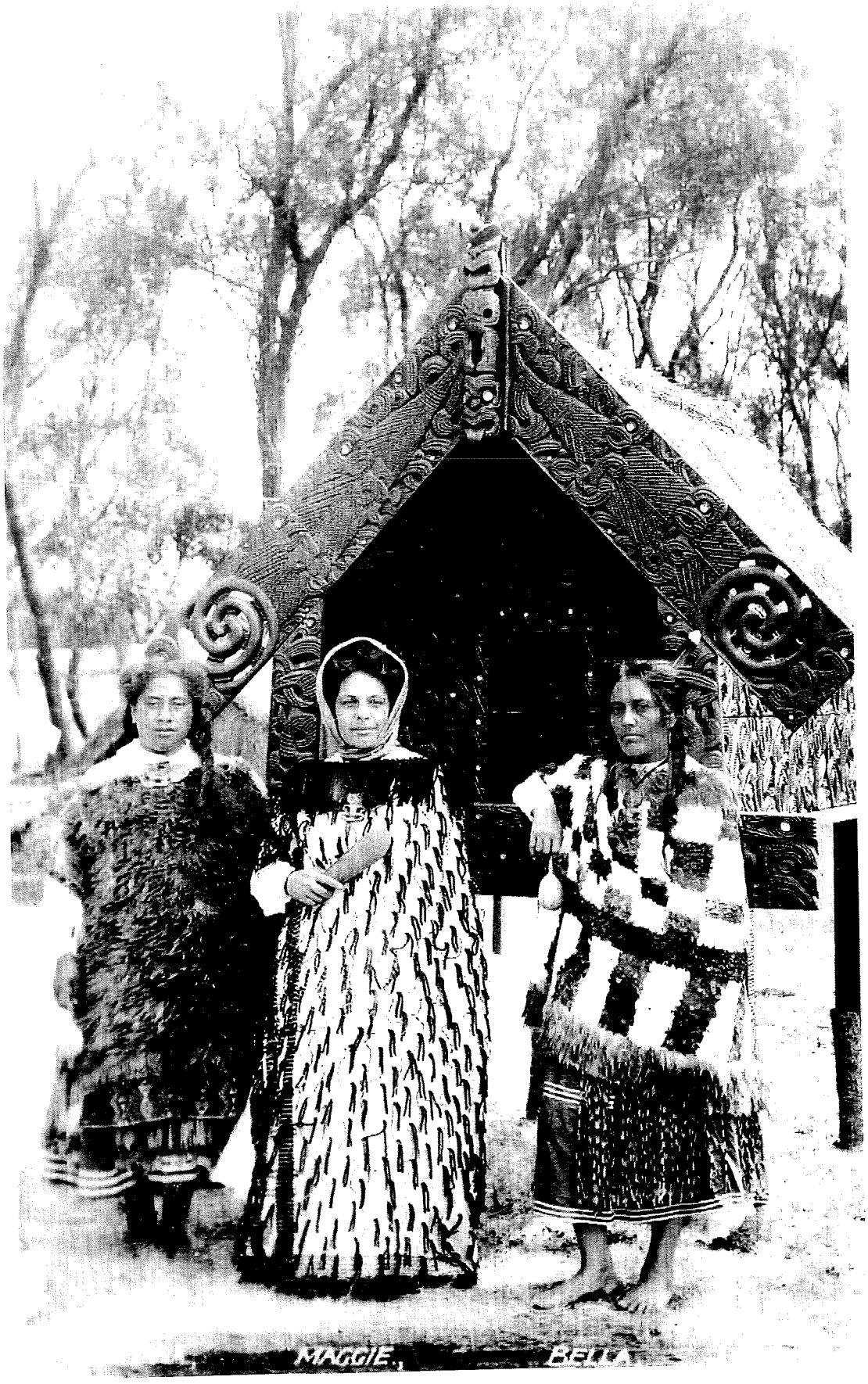

Figure 3.7 Guides Maggie and Bella Papakura and Tatiana Hiini with model pataka (BM Ethno.1933.7-8.1) at Clontarf, Sydney, Australia (Photograph: Makereti Papers, Box IX M24020-21, p. 16 Green Album, Pitt Rivers Museum)

By the early twentieth century, Guides Maggie and Bella had become renowned tour guides to the Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao thermal village of Whakarewarewa (Makereti 1905; Makereti 1938: 19). As guides they were in frequent contact with tourists who were often keenly interested in acquiring something iconic of Maori people, or of the colony in general, with which to remember their visit. A popular form considered synonymous with Maori culture was the hei tiki, a highly distinctive anthropomorphic neck pendant sculpted from pounamu (a local variety of greenstone or nephrite). An unusual double-sided hei tiki (Joyce 1906) (figure 3.8), purchased by the museum in 1906 from Fenton and Son, Oxford Street, was "recognised by Bella Wiari" in the British Museum[13]. Whilst a date was not specified, perhaps Bella Wiari had visited the British Museum and recognised her family heirloom in 1911, when on tour with the Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao troupe. In 1925, Sir C H Read from Rotorua gave a name to this hei tiki, "KAUPWINA"[14], said to mean "two stomachs", which he said "belonged to the WIARI family, who have a song about its loss to the family. It is the only one known."[15] Half a century later, 'Kaupwina' was recognised again, this time by a descendant, art historian Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, who added the descent group affiliation and region "Tuhourangi, Te Arawa, Rotorua" to the museum label (figure 3.9).

These early twentieth century additions to the museum's collection begin to suggest the shape of collections ought not be considered in terms of collector's tastes, market preferences or institutional practices alone (c.f. Gathercole 1978; Starzecka 1998). In particular 'modern' pieces (i.e. those acquired from around the turn of the twentieth century) appear to have come through Arawa/British engagements, specifically ceremonial presentations of gifts to visiting dignitaries, and more generally, exchanges between Arawa people and tourists to Rotorua, and, exchanges occurring when Arawa parties toured to Britain. Furthermore, these collections continue to foster connections between places as Arawa descendants,

[13] Excerpt from the British Museum's Registers.
[14] The consonant order 'p w' is orthographically incorrect and should possibly read Kaupuina.
[15] Excerpt from the British Museum's Registers.

Figure 3.8 Double-sided hei tiki called Kaupwina [Kaupuina?], once belonging to Bella Wiari, Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao, Rotorua, BM Ethno.1906.4-16.1, Length 11cm (Photograph: British Museum XIX4/XIX5)

Figure 3.9 Double-sided hei tiki (Detail), with descent group affiliation added to the label, "Tuhourangi, Te Arawa, Rotorua" by descendant, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, BM Ethno.1906.4-16.1, Length 11cm

Rotorua residents and specialist academics continue to visit them, and through such relationships valuable information has been added to often scant records.

During this early twentieth century period, the British Museum ceased to actively acquire contemporary material from Rotorua, or indeed from any region in New Zealand (Starzecka 1998). A situation which prevailed until almost a century later, when in 1993 and 1994 over seventy new items were acquired for the collection, many purchased from galleries or shops, some directly from the makers, whilst others were especially commissioned from established artists (*ibid:* 156). These acquisitions, although made partly with a forthcoming Maori exhibition in mind, also reflect a significant change in museum policy – to collect contemporary material (*ibid*).

Both established artists and art students from the Rotorua region were well represented in these new acquisitions, which included a purchase of woven tukutuku panels (figure 3.10) and carved wooden panels (figure 3.11), 'practice wall panels' of the kind used to line meetinghouses, made by students at the Rotorua Maori Art and Crafts Institute. Kete whakairo (figure 3.12), finely plaited bags customarily used to store and carry family valuables such as cloaks, but used more generally today to carry personal valuables, purchased from expert weaver and established fibre artist Christina Hurihia Wirihana of Ngati Pikiao descent. Also made by Christina Wirihana is a large whariki, a finely plaited mat of the kind spread on meetinghouse floors to receive guests on important occasions[16]. The museum commissioned two carved figures by expert carver and established artist Lyonel Grant, also of Ngati Pikiao descent[17]. The larger of the two (figure 3.13) combines customary tekoteko form and surface embellishment (see figure 3.1) to convey genealogical connections that express enduring links between people, their forebears and ancestral lands[18], with introduced signs denoting a colonial presence on these lands. On the left shoulder of the figure the word "Waitangi", the number "1840" and a union flag refer to the foundationally important treaty.

[16] BM Ethno. 1994 Oc.4.89
[17] BM Ethno. 1994 Oc.4.88 and BM Ethno. 1994 Oc.4.117
[18] Lyonel Grant's carving shows the pito, the umbilical cord, connecting tangata (people) to their forebears and to their whenua, their ancestral land, the material embodiment of the primal mother Papatuanuku. This connection is expressed conceptually in the term tangata whenua, and embodied in the practice of burying the afterbirth, also known as the whenua, into the land promptly after birth (Awekotuku 1998: 33).

Figure 3.10 Wooden tukutuku panel woven with kiekie, Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua, BM Ethno.1994 Oc.4.105, Height 183.5cm

Figure 3.11 Carved wooden practice panel, by Darren Palmer, Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua, BM Ethno.1993 Oc.3.80, Length 86.5cm

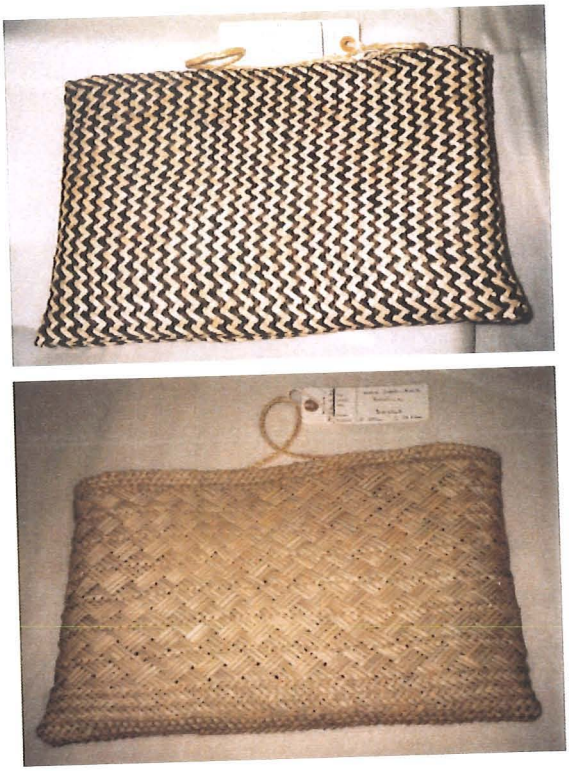

Figure 3.12 Kete whakairo, undyed, made of kiekie, by Christina Hurihia Wirihana, BM Ethno.1993 Oc.3.70, Width 38cm; and kete whakairo, made of natural and black harakeke (flax), dyed using paru (black mud), by Christina Hurihia Wirihana, BM Ethno.1993.Oc3.70.73, Width 37cm

Figure 3.13 Large carved ancestral figure expressing enduring customary attachments between ancestral lands and Maori people, and alluding to the impact of colonial presence upon these lands, by Lyonel Grant, Ngati Pikiao, Rotorua, BM Ethno.1994 Oc.4.117, height 264cm (Photograph from Starzecka 1998: 156)

These recent acquisitions suggest people continue to be actively involved in the practices of carving and weaving, both as adept and emergent practitioners, some becoming established as sculpture and fibre artists in an international art market in their own right. Given a substantial break in collecting practises during the twentieth century, it is difficult to connect these recent works with the earlier pieces, although the carved forms in particular suggest continuity with earlier practices. Whilst a break in collecting practices was the result of changes in museum policy and funding (as outlined by Starzecka 1998: 156), changes which are historically situated within wider epistemological shifts in anthropological thinking away from the material to the social, the break is also clearly indicative of a 'salvage paradigm' criticized by Phillips (1998) among others. Phillips traces the emergence and negotiated production of Native American tourist arts on the northeast coast during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, suggesting tourist arts have provided both an appropriate vehicle for Native American groups to engage with industrial modernity and adjust to the harsh and impoverishing conditions brought about through European colonisation, and a means of sustaining certain local beliefs and practices. As such, Phillips argues souvenirs form valid material expressions of the dynamics of social relations and historical change worthy of in-depth study, a position that forms a departure point for my research.

By returning to the Rotorua region, we might productively explore the historical period absented by a disjuncture in museum collecting practises along other, more illuminating avenues. When returning to the locations from which things in museums originated, it may be important to set aside the museological categorisations by which items in collections have become reified as things – from the generalising categories that present collections of artefacts as material representations of discrete societies (for example 'Maori Collection'), to the naming of a collection after the European collector (such as the 'Christy Collection'), to the structural-functionalist categorisation of things into types of objects, which in turn structure the order of their exhibition display (functional types include 'weaponry', 'clothing', 'housing' and so on). It is unlikely that these categorisations will remain entirely relevant beyond museum settings.

Establishing connections between source locations and museum collections forms a means of exploring collections not as discrete isolates but as nodes in dynamic branching networks, trails of things that are perhaps more productively considered relationally, as things that have mediated, and continue to mediate, encounters between peoples from different places and different time periods. Such a trail has already been suggested here, in the overlaying of catalogues and labels with inscriptions made by various visitors from New Zealand who recognise and form personal relationships with certain pieces. In some cases the recognition is deeply personal, one of coming in touch with ancestral taonga, with forebears made present in their material embodiment as things.

Having compiled photographs of these and other items in the British Museum from the Rotorua region into an album, combining them with historical photographs of the region from archival collections in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, I brought this album with me to Rotorua where I hoped similar recognitions would take place. Through recognitions, and through exchanges of photographs and knowledge of collections in Britain I hoped to open up new relationships, new pathways along which to experience a more localised understanding of the kinds of things I had encountered in museum and archival collections, and through which to shed further light on how such things came to be in Britain at all.

3.3 A trail of things: from the British Museum to Rotorua

In August 2001, in response to my request to carry out fieldwork in Rotorua, Reverend Wihapi Winiata, paramount elder of Ngati Whakaue, Te Arawa, invited me to attend a hui, a formal welcome ceremony during which the nature of my intended research could be openly discussed. The hui was held at Te Whare Taonga O Te Arawa, the Rotorua Museum and Art Gallery in Government Gardens, a civic park adjacent to the town of Rotorua[19].

Government Gardens is approached through Prince's Gate, a metalwork arch with an electric Christian cross and star on top, which leads into Queen's Drive (figure 3.14). At the end of the drive stands an ornate and imposing statue of King George IV, a war memorial with the names of the Arawa soldiers fallen in the First

[19] The township area is specified on the map of the Lake Rotorua region (figure 1.2), given in chapter one.

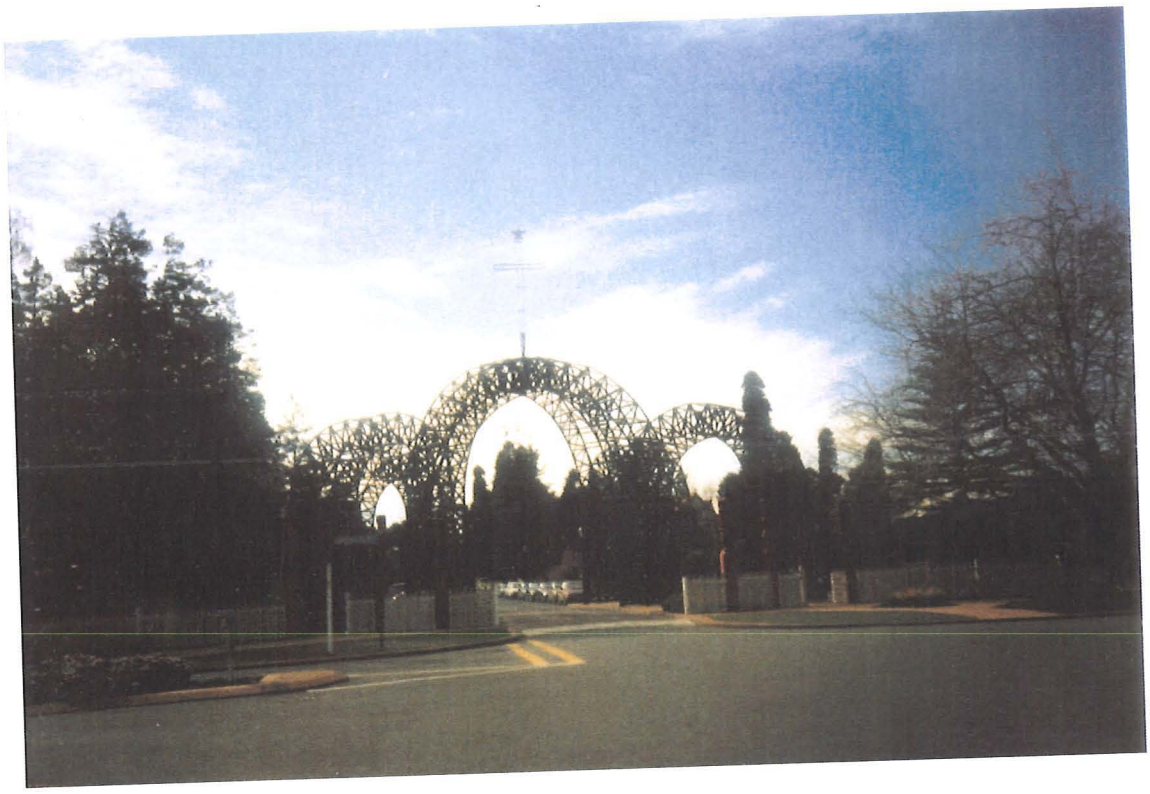

Figure 3.14 Prince's Gate and Queen's Drive, Government Gardens, Rotorua

Figure 3.15 War Memorial for members of Te Arawa lost in World War One, Government Gardens, Rotorua

World War inscribed beneath him (figure 3.15). It is not difficult to imagine a British imperial presence here in the recent past. The Bathhouse is a grand mock Tudor building established by the colonial government's Department of Tourist and Health Resorts in 1908 as a great sanatorium of the south to rival any of its contemporaries in central Europe (figure 3.16). A pungent scent of sulphur clings to the atmosphere and, to the back of the neatly manicured gardens and bowling greens, clouds of steam rise through semi-parched manuka bush in a thermal reserve area named Sulphur Point.

The hui was held in a private room inside the building and was officiated by kaumatua (elder) Wihapi Winiata (figure 3.17), who began the ceremonial proceedings by orating a lengthy series of customary addresses, greeting all those present in the room – those 'present' included our forebears, ourselves and our descendants and future descendants. These ancient greetings were concluded with karakia (prayer) and waiata (song), including Christian prayer and hymn performed in Maori, and the singing of waiata moteatea, chanted poetic compositions handed down through generations of a descent groups. After karakia and waiata, we greeted each other physically through the hongi, in which two people press noses gently together and share hau (breath). They may also hariru (clasp hands) and awhi (embrace). These gestures closed the formal aspect of the ceremonial greetings, and we could then be seated for more informal discussions to begin.

Mihimihi (personal introductions) followed, as each person gave greetings and explained their whakapapa (descent group affiliations). The take (purpose) of the hui was announced, to discuss the proposed topic of my study – the history of tourism and its impacts upon artistic production in the region. Each person described their own personal involvement – from running local tourism ventures, to participating in council committees, family trusts, museum boards, schooling and officiating at the many ceremonies and important occasions occurring throughout the Arawa district. Aside from the significant pressure that daily and nightly tourist entertainments place upon young families – pressures which have been coped with through the spreading of the responsibilities of 'parenting' across wider extended family networks – on the whole, the benefits of a visitor industry were stressed,

Figure 3.16 The Bathhouse, Government Gardens, Rotorua

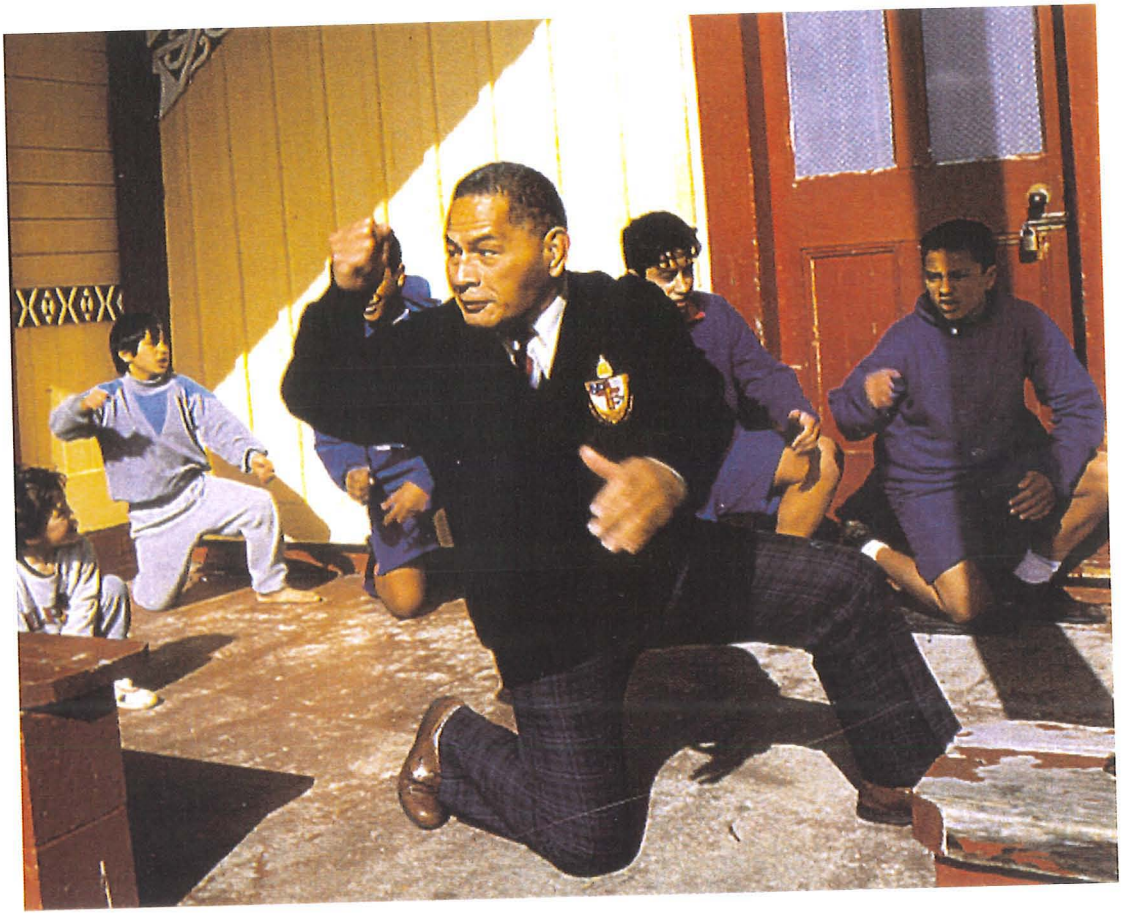

Figure 3.17 Paramount elder, Kaumatua Wihapi Te Amohau Winiata (Photograph David Cook, in Tapsell 2000: 37)

particularly in terms of the opportunity to become enriched with knowledge of other peoples whilst remaining immersed in Maori culture.

A prominent speaker on the subject was kuia Huhana Mihinui, now retired but known to generations of tourists as Guide Bubbles of Whakarewarewa (figure 3.18). Considering the emergence of a visitor industry from the second half of the nineteenth century, Huhana Mihinui pointed out that compared to early European arrivals in other regions of the country,

> Tourists were, for want of a better word, the moneyed people who could afford it. And that was virtually the first contact our people had with people from the other hemisphere. So we were fortunate that we didn't get the whalers, the traders and the rough cuts and all this sort of thing. And – this is *my own* you know, thinking about it – ah no wonder our grandparents spoke such beautiful English. Who did they learn it from? From the English gentry and from missionaries.

Guide Bubbles relished the experience of a lifetime career guiding tourists through the thermal valley of Whakarewarewa to marvel at famous sights, such as Pohutu Geyser (figure 3.19). Her lifetime occupation as a guide to tourists has frequently placed her in the media and public eye, but she dismisses this chuckling, "On whose terms am I famous? I'm just ordinary! There is no money in this work, just plenty of priceless memories. Guiding is in our genes. Globe trotting is too!"

Both Huhana Mihinui and Wihapi Winiata were elegant yet modest in demeanour, he in formal suit and tie and carrying a polished tokotoko (walking stick) and she in black attire worn by kuia on formal occasions, carrying an intricately woven kete whakairo (a plaited flax handheld bag), made by her niece. As the day progressed, the warmth of their affectionate humour melted away the formality of the ceremonial proceedings that morning. We continued talking into the late afternoon and shared a meal together, when Wihapi Winiata and Huhana Mihinui suggested they would adopt me for the year as their niece, Koro Hapi (Uncle Hapi) explaining that they would be like a door for me to enter into their world, to which Auntie Bubbles quipped, "Yes, he the front door, me the back!"[20]

Such joking and informality characterised the end of the day, and the manner in which I had been welcomed and accommodated into the family so to speak came as an immensely pleasant surprise, given the anxious anticipation I had experienced

[20] This joke is in reference to Wihapi Winiata's paramount line of descent, and hence his mana, his standing and influence among the community.

Figure 3.18 Kuia Huhana Mihinui, affectionately known to the world as 'Guide Bubbles', at home in Whakarewarewa thermal village (Photograph: *Rotorua Daily Post*, October 7, 2002)

Figure 3.19 Pohutu Geyser, Whakarewarewa thermal valley, Rotorua

prior to my arrival. I presented the photograph album I had made up from museum collections and archives in Britain, a gift that seemed to please and surprise my hosts just as much.

3.4 Tourism in Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu

Today tour guiding through Whakarewarewa kainga focuses on the outdoor and shared qualities of domestic life revolving around the geothermal hot pools, boiling springs and vents that make up the characteristic landscape of Whakarewarewa. Rather than being contained within the private space of a single household, domestic practices such as cooking (figure 3.20), washing (figure 3.21) and bathing (figure 3.22) may be conducted outdoors on the rahui, the thermal reserve area in the centre of the village (figure 3.23). As Guide Bubbles recalls,

> Well I can remember the days when there were some families who lived in the village, didn't have any kind of cooking apparatus within the house! Everything was cooked either in the hot pool or in the steam box and this is our custom...you can put your porridge in at night, when you have your morning bath you pick your porridge up and take it home. And the beauty of it is it doesn't burn. You're quite sure of that!

Compared to other tourist experiences in the Rotorua district, such as the 'Maori hangi dinner and concert entertainment' combined package offered in the restaurants of many hotels in town, or reconstructed 'model Maori villages' offering similar entertainment packages; Guide Bubbles stresses it is these ongoing village customs that shape social life in the village and that are of enduring interest to visitors:

> Now these are things that really make it in the thermal area! When you see people lifting the lid off a steam box and pulling out their pot, and there won't be just one pot in there, there'll be several, several families use one steam box. Or the big pool, the boiling spring, may have so many bags... *That's* what makes it. It's the *living* part of it that makes it so interesting to the visitors.

Visitors can explore the whole village – a mixture of colonial style cottages and distinctive carved and painted Maori wharepuni, including family homes such as Tuhoromatakaka (figure 3.24), Umukaria, formerly the village meetinghouse and now an Anglican church (figure 3.25), and Wahiao, the current wharetupuna (ancestral meetinghouse) standing on Te Pakira marae (ceremonial courtyard) (figure 3.26). Each day concerts are held inside Wahiao to entertain tourists with haka and poi dances, performed by all ages (figure 3.27). However, important ceremonial

Figure 3.20 Explaining the cooking facilities to a tour party, Whakarewarewa

Figure 3.21 Waipuru, the village copper for boiling linen, sheets and pillow slips, Whakarewarewa

Figure 3.22 The Oil Baths (Top Baths), Whakarewarewa

Figure 3.23 Rahui, thermal reserve, Whakarewarewa

Figure 3.24 Tourists guided through Whakarewarewa village towards Tuhoromatakaka, the carved wharenui once belonging to Makereti, Guide Maggie Papakura

Figure 3.25 Anglican Church, formerly Umukaria Meetinghouse, Whakarewarewa

Figure 3.26 Wahiao Meetinghouse, Te Pakira Marae, Whakarewarewa

Figure 3.27 Poi dance as part of a concert for tourists, held inside Wahiao Meetinghouse, Whakarewarewa

functions continue to take precedence, such as tangihanga (funerary ceremonies), and when such occasions arise, tourists are entertained in a separate area (figure 3.28). Visitors to the village may also purchase small carvings (figure 3.29) or woven items such as piupiu (flax kilts) direct from the maker's homes, or from a number of village gift shops (figure 3.30).

Across the township on the shores of Lake Rotorua stands the Ngati Whakaue settlement of Ohinemutu, a place of similarly striking geothermal activity (figure 3.31). On the lake edge, once the site of Muruika pa[21] stands St Faith's church and urupa (cemetery) (figure 3.32). Opposite the church facing out to the lake, stands a large wharetupuna (ancestral meetinghouse) called Tamatekapua (figure 3.33). Adjacent to Tamatekapua is Whakaturia dining room where large numbers of guests can be fed and entertained. Beneath the dining room are the classrooms and offices of the Ngati Whakaue development trust, where events are organised and various services are provided for the benefit of the descent group. Between Tamatekapua and St Faith's is an expansive marae, Te Papa-I-Ouru (figure 3.34), a sacred courtyard area set apart for ceremonial activities and kept clear at all times (figure 3.35).

Compared to Whakarewarewa, there is a noticeable absence of tourism activities in Ohinemutu. Today on the lake foreshore stands the disused Lake House Bathhouse (figure 3.36) and directly above, overlooking the village and lake is a large public house, the Lake House Tavern (figure 3.37), formerly the Lake House Hotel, reminders of a once bustling tourist destination. Whilst frequent large-scale ceremonial hui continue to be held on Te Papa-I-Ouru marae, commercial concerts, held in Tamatekapua since the late nineteenth century, ceased to operate from 2001 along with the sale of carved and woven souvenirs in Whakaturia dining room after the shows[22]. Unlike Whakarewarewa, Ohinemutu is said to have 'gone back to the iwi', the marae and meetinghouse being reserved for primarily Ngati Whakaue and Arawa functions and activities. In order to understand how these differences came to be, in the next section I return to an exploration of tourism activities in the region from the close of the nineteenth century, assisted considerably by a significant late nineteenth century development, postcard photography.

[21] Drawn by Merrett in around 1839, and illustrated in chapter two, figures 2.2 and 2.4.
[22] *The Daily Post,* October 4, 2001

Figure 3.28 Waiata-a-ringa (action song) in a concert for tourists, held outside during formal ceremonies in Wahiao Meetinghouse, Whakarewarewa

Figure 3.29 Carving shop, by Tuhoromatakaka whare (house), Whakarewarewa

Figure 3.30 Piupiu flax kilts drying in the sun before dying, Geyser View shop, Whakarewarewa

Figure 3.31 Ohinemutu at sunrise, steam rising from Lake Rotorua foreshore and from beneath the ground

Figure 3.32 St Faith's church (1885) and urupa, formerly Muruika pa, Ohinemutu

Figure 3.33 Tamatekapua Meetinghouse (1872), with the Pouhaki (flagpole) named Houtaiki, Te Papa-I-Ouru Marae, Ohinemutu

Figure 3.34 Te Papa-I-Ouru Marae (tapu/sacred ceremonial courtyard area), between Tamatekapua Meetinghouse and St Faith's Church, Ohinemutu

Figure 3.35 Te Papa-I-Ouru Marae Trustees 'rahui' or notice reminding people this marae area is tapu and its sanctity must be respected at all times, accordingly cars may not be driven across the marae

Figure 3.36 Disused Lake House Hotel Bath House, Ohinemutu, 2002

Figure 3.37 The Lake House Tavern, formerly the Lake House Hotel, Ohinemutu, 2002

In the 1870s the development of dry-plate photography afforded greater mobility to photographers (Pols 1992: 12-13). Scenic photography became far easier and, with the development of industrial printing, postcard manufacturing began and the postcard instantly became a most popular and highly collectable souvenir. The emergence of organised tourism in the Rotorua area coincided with the invention of the postcard, and a lucrative photographic industry developed in the region. By the 1890s, thousands of images of Rotorua and surroundings were in worldwide circulation (Lee-Webb 1998). In metropolitan locations, mass-produced postcard images of British colonies are highly significant because they made visualisation of empire – of scenes of 'native life' and scenery in the colonies – open to a broader range of social classes than had previously been possible through more exclusive objects such as the paintings, lithographic reproductions and expensive illustrated books discussed in chapter two.

Today postcards from the past that have been preserved in museum and private collections provide a rich, yet surprisingly under-explored archive that visually documents the history of tourism in the Rotorua region. Furthermore, the postcard craze of the turn of the twentieth century coincides with the salvage ethnography paradigm that informed a rejection of collection of overtly syncretic forms, and with a more generally waning in ethnological collecting. In other words, postcards might reveal tourism-related objects and practices that may not have been collected and preserved or otherwise recorded, making them a particularly important resource in this thesis.

In the remainder of this chapter I explore the expansion and impact of tourism in the Rotorua region from the 1880s, negotiated through rapidly altering Maori/European entrepreneurial relationships as the balance of colonial power relations shifted and settler incursions upon Maori lands and practises became less compromised than before. To acknowledge these shifts without subsuming local practices to colonising forces, I apply Edwards' (2000) notion of photographic images as densely informative, less determinable modes of communication, together with Douglas' (1999) notion of indigenous countersign, of potentially revealing discrepancies between text and image, and draw from travel writing, tour guides and newspaper reports in conjunction with postcard imagery and objects in the hope that

these may, in combination, spring leaks in otherwise more tightly determined colonial accounts.

3.5 The establishment of a colonial township and spa resort

Despite government interest in acquiring lands in the thermal district of Rotorua, expressed from around the mid nineteenth century during Governor Grey's visit, Arawa descent groups had remained powerful, prosperous and autonomous and held onto their ancestral estates with great tenacity. By 1880, destinations frequented by tourists had expanded considerably through brokerage of beneficial business arrangements between hapu and their settler tenants. Pre-existing hotels were extended, such as the Lake House (formerly the Ohinemutu Hotel, established by Hone Werahiko in 1870 and managed by various proprietors, including Ann Robertson and Robert Graham) and the Rotorua Hotel (run by Thomas and Raiha Bennett and sold to Henrietta and James Morrison), and new hotels were being built with convenience stores opening up around them to supply hoteliers, guests and locals with imported goods.

Settler-tenants establishing hotels and related businesses at Ohinemutu, as at Wairoa, such as Bennett and Graham, had done so through relationships negotiated with influential persons among local hapu, such as through inter-marriage or some other reciprocal contract. As with Pakeha-Maori traders earlier in the century, such as Tapsell, some of these hapu/hotelier marriages have established well-known and influential Arawa whanau (extended families) in the region to this day[23]. Running their businesses under the auspices of influential hapu leaders and needing to maintain wider hapu approval, settlers were beholden to observe customary principles regarding rights in resources.

Hoteliers could therefore become entangled in hapu differences regarding customary interests in collectively held lands and resources, and at times became embroiled in and aggravated such differences. As with missionary experience earlier in the century, so some hoteliers found themselves subject to eviction and loss of property where other parties claimed customary rights in the lands upon which their

[23] Including the Douglas, Morrison and Bennett whanau (families); for a detailed local history of these and other successful businesses run by Maori/European partnerships see Stafford (1986: 79, 232-3, 236).

businesses stood[24]. As colonial authorities wished to establish a spa-resort town and develop and expand the local economy, they envisaged a greater influx of settlers to develop such a resort. Rather than customary tenancy at the behest of influential hapu, to encourage rapid settlement the government sought to guarantee to potential settlers a security of property they would understand: legal title.

By now well attuned to the entrepreneurial opportunities that had been opened up by allowing a number of 'Pakeha' traders and business operators to settle among hapu over the last fifty years, during the 1870s Ngati Whakaue entered into negotiation with the colonial government to lease an area of land for the establishment of a colonial township, Rotorua. In these negotiations, government authorities suggested that by allowing a township to proceed and encouraging the settlement of as many people as possible, the country would become more economically prosperous, rents would be elevated and landholders would reap the benefits. Presented to land-holding descent groups as a means of both protecting their land interests whilst also receiving a financial return, the idea was initially well received. A township agreement was struck through verbal agreement between Ngati Whakaue and Judge Francis Dart Fenton on behalf of the colonial government, negotiated through the influence of Captain Gilbert Mair who had supported Ngati Whakaue during Te Kooti's campaign of 1872. In customary fashion the verbal pact was sealed by presenting the great ancestral carving Pukaki (figure 2.3) to the government on October 2, 1877 (Tapsell 2000: 82).

Unlike previous customary leases arranged between hapu leaders and their pakeha tenants, the legally binding outcome of these negotiations, 'The Thermal Springs Districts Act 1881' stipulated the regulation of leasehold title in terms of imperial laws; laws that were based upon different principles regarding landholding and the ownership of property than those that hapu members were accustomed to. From the government's point of view, in addition to fostering further settlement, the act gave them sole right of purchase of thermally active areas, to reserve and supposedly protect them as 'national assets' as part of the development of a southern

[24] See Stafford (1986: 219-223) for a detailed account of hoteliers Robert Graham, Ann Robertson and others becoming entangled in disputes regarding their lease of collectively held lands at Ohinemutu through Werahiko and Taupua Te Whanoa.

hemisphere spa resort[25]. Further to this, Maori landowners were advised to lease their lands through the government, who would act on their behalf. This after 'native title' to collectively held (and frequently disputed) Maori lands had been ascertained through the colonial government's 'Native Land Court' system.

Native Land Court hearings involved highly expensive surveying procedures by government land agents, and were followed by typically lengthy court hearings, as numerous hapu claiming ancestral rights in lands under survey aired their claims. Often held at a distance, attendance was both highly costly, yet also obligatory, as those who failed to attend and represent their interests would lose them immediately. Once colonial land court judges had determined Maori title, since under the new act lands could only be sold to the government[26], a monopoly of purchase prevented owners from receiving a competitive price. In short, the colonial government had implemented a system of land management that operated in their favour, giving decision-making power to government authorities whilst placing the greater burden of costs upon Maori landholders.

Subsequent to the act of 1881, with the acquisition of legal title to landholdings settler businesses such as hotels and stores could expand in the new township free of any commitment to negotiate with hapu, nor to concede to hapu priorities. Not only did businesses established through hapu/settler relationships and reciprocal contracts now have to compete with new businesses in town, where already established businesses fell upon designated areas of thermal activity or native title, operators, such as Mrs Morrison of the Rotorua Hotel, Ohinemutu, were given eviction notices (Stafford 1986: 189) enforcing a physical segregation of a previously far more integrated hapu/settler social and economic life.

Colonial authorities were quick to embark on a national and international marketing campaign, promoting the proposed township to potential emigrants, business interests and tourists through an official guide to 'The New Zealand Thermal-Springs District' (Didsbury 1882). Accordingly this publication contained glowing reports of the region, whilst assuring settlers that 'native numbers' were few (*ibid:* 13). A Dr Hochstetter gave an admiring account of life in Ohinemutu, noting

[25] Stafford (1986: 157); *Bay of Plenty Times* March 9, 1882
[26] The act covered a vast area of lands in the Rotorua region, much of which was not in fact thermally active and hence requiring state reservation.

the health of local people and the cleanliness of their outdoor domestic practices and houses (*ibid:* 19-20). Acknowledging Maori knowledge of the curative properties of certain spring waters, Hochstetter confirmed "this remarkable lake will become the centre of attraction not only for the tourist of all nations, but also as a place of resort for invalids from all parts of the world" (*ibid:* 23).

Unusually this publication contained an account by a woman, a Miss Gordon-Cummings. Perhaps aimed at encouraging a female audience to the region, her comments romantically celebrate the emancipation of women from domestic chores:

> All the ordinary cares of housekeeping are here greatly facilitated by nature. She provides so many cooking pots that fires are needless – all stewing and boiling does itself to perfection. The food is either placed in a flax basket and hung in the nearest pool, or else it is laid in a shallow hole and covered with layers of fern and earth to keep in the steam. In either case the result is excellent, and the cookery clean and simple. Laundry-work is made equally easy. Certain pools are set aside in which to boil clothes, and one of these, which is called Kairua, is the village laundry par excellence. Its waters are alkaline, and produce a cleansing lather; and they are so soft and warm that washing is merely a pleasant past time to the laughing Maori girls. No soap is required; Mother Nature has provided all that is needful (*ibid:* 24).

In Ohinemutu village, where people gathered at hot pools and steam vents along the foreshore of Lake Rotorua, cooking food, washing laundry or simply warming themselves in natural hot baths and on kohatu, large flat stones heated by steam (figure 3.38), these picturesque scenes were attracting increasing visitor interest. Judging from the volume of postcards remaining in collections today, outdoor 'domesticity' was a popular postcard genre, and an interesting peculiarity of the region positively commented upon by many tourists and travel writers.

Although the adoption of European clothing and other domestic fabrics, and regular bathing and washing of laundry would display a hygienic cleanliness that probably indicated to visiting Europeans a sense of the 'advancement of civilisation' to the colonial peripheries, the outdoor and communal nature of bathing and laundry washing formed an important part of communal village social life that was not a simple reflection of European domesticity. As women elders today concur, cooking, bathing and laundry washing outdoors in hot pools, boiling springs and steam vents specified for each purpose expressed important values such as collective rights to village resources; working together for the benefit of a group (the whanau, extended

Figure 3.38 Women washing on the lakefront, Ohinemutu, behind stands the extended Lake House hotel, c. 1890 (Postcard: private collection)

family, or the hapu, the descent group); a preference for openness and sharing rather than privacy and enclosure; and the observation of laws of tapu or ritual prohibition.

Because clothing comes into intimate contact with the body, it may become imbued with the bodily tapu (ancestral sanctity) of the wearer. Clothing that is tapu should be kept apart from food, and things associated with food, because these can remove and destroy tapu, which explains why certain pools were reserved strictly for laundry, others for bathing and others for cooking. Hence whilst missionaries, their converts and visitors more generally may have understood the uptake of European clothing and related practices as indicating a conversion to Christian values and civility, changing dress did not necessarily alter longstanding bodily practices, nor the beliefs and perceptions that informed them. Similarly, whilst visitors were interested in observing 'native habits' along the foreshore, unlike earlier in the century when tourists and locals shared outdoor baths, hoteliers began to provide for the more exclusive preferences of their European guests, offering them private enclosed baths (Sutter 1887: 90-91) built on springs leased from local hapu (Stafford 1986: 227) (figures 3.39 and 3.40).

Traveller's accounts note the resplendent dress of local people. At Ohinemutu Tangye (1886) observed, "Sunday dresses... gorgeous to behold; all the brightest colours... in full force", whilst at Whakarewarewa, a positively enthralled Talbot noted, "Toilet operations were progressing with much merriment in the open air. The dresses of the women were gorgeous to the last degree. Colour's loud enough to make one's headache prevailed" (Talbot 1882:11). A preference for brightly coloured European fashions suggests an element of local choice and selection, rather than an imposition of presumably more dour missionary prescriptions. Bright specifically mentions great interest in imported fashions:

> [T]he chief aim among the younger members of the community at the present day appears to be to approach as nearly as possible to the European fashion of attire. A long tailed coat is an heirloom to be cherished; while no correct minded Maori belle will consider herself properly equipped...unless she can boast, in addition to her flounces, radiant with Manchester's gaudiest patterns, a tall hat...with a green or blue veil (1883: 32-3).

However, unlike Talbot and Tangye's positive accounts, Bright gives an objectified evolutionist account of racial types, constructed not upon an anthropometrical measurements of physiognomic differences, but in terms of clothing. Progress up his

The Lakes, Ohinemutu.

MRS. MORRISON'S

Rotorua Family Hotel.

This most comfortable Hotel is charmingly situated facing Lake Rotorua, and offers every facility for rendering the visits of Families and Tourists to this wonderful district thoroughly enjoyable.

Telegrams and Letters addressed to Mrs. Morrison will receive immediate attention.

A NATURAL HOT BATH

Adjoins the Hotel, and is kept solely for the use of its guests.

Figure 3.39 Advertisement for Mrs Morrison's Rotorua Family Hotel, with "A natural hot bath kept solely for the use of its guests" (Private collection)

Figure 3.40 View from the Lake House Hotel, overlooking the kainga of Ohinemutu and Lake Rotorua, with private gardens and enclosed bath house in the foreground, c. 1900 (Postcard: author's collection)

imaginary evolutionary ladder through 'miscegenation' of clothing was, however, merely a temporary achievement. Ultimately he remarked, with an element of disdain, "these same half-castes" would one-day "take to blankets and a 'whare', dried 'kura's' and a Maori wife" (*ibid:* 33). Despite the domestic cleanliness admired by many, Bright dismissed Ohinemutu as populated by an "unsavoury-looking" and "unclean" people, who live in "wretched hovels" and "odorous quarters" (1883: 29), contradicting other far more positive visitor accounts of Maori people, settlements and social practices.

During this period of great industrial expansion in Britain, 'conversion' of colonial subjects would have been just as much a commercial interest as it was a moral Christian one. From a mercantile point of view, converts formed an emerging market for a booming factory-produced British textile industry. Conflation of moral and commercial interest occurred macro-structurally as an indirect process, but could proceed directly through the livelihoods of family-run businesses. For example, my family predecessors ran clothing factories in London and Manchester in the nineteenth century, importing textiles from China and India and producing clothing and fashionable trimmings for local sale and export. They were also devout practising Quakers. In a sense they practised what they preached, and did financially well out of it too[27].

The scale with which nineteenth and early twentieth century British manufacturers exported textiles to the colony of New Zealand echoes into the present in the continuing use of the term 'Manchester' to denote household linens today. This point highlights that, in addition to alienation of land and resources, colonisation converted people from a subsistence economy into a monetary one through the global circulation of commodities such as clothing. Money was needed to purchase imported goods, and in the Rotorua region this money had been earned through charges rendered to visitors on hapu lands, including access tolls; services, such as canoe or whaleboat transportation and guiding; facilities, such as bathing and accommodation; and provisions such as cooked food. However, these modes of subsistence, which had brought considerable affluence to numerous Arawa hapu,

[27] I am grateful to Kathleen Pearce for this family history information.

were about to be seriously undermined by both natural disaster and the pressures of colonial authorities.

3.6 From affluence to depression

Although Wairoa, Lake Rotomahana and the pink and white terraces continued to form the major attraction of the region, during the 1870s and 1880s Whakarewarewa emerged as a popular place of tourist resort and soon became part of a standard tour route (Talbot 1882). Here tourists would take a Maori guide for "the small charge of a shilling a head" who carried them across the Puarenga stream into the village, where they enjoyed a diversity of outdoor baths together with villagers (Vesey-Stewart 1883: 11), including the curative waters of the 'Oil Bath' (figure 3.41), so-called because it left an oily texture on the skin (Bunbury 1879, cited in Waaka 1982; Makereti 1905: 109). Ngati Wahiao erected accommodation for visiting European invalids since the late 1870s (Bunbury 1879), consisting of "Maori 'whares' or huts, which invalids rent from the natives". Visitors could "cook their own food in the 'Ngawhas' or boiling springs and steam holes" (Vesey-Stewart: *ibid*) (figure 3.42) using tukohu, functional baskets woven from tough fibres that withstand boiling and steaming (figure 3.43). Far from extortionate, their accommodation services were commented upon approvingly by visitors in comparison with other facilities and services in the region (Talbot 1882: 11).

As with other tourism localities, increasing numbers of visitors to the region had resulted in damage to landscape features. Tourists persisted in taking geothermal encrustations as souvenirs and villagers responded drawing up regulations, fees and fines in order to manage the problem. By 1884, fees were officially posted in the village as follows:

> All persons visiting Whakarewarewa and wishing to see the wonders of this place, and all the curative baths and waters which consist of different minerals must remember, that the following charges will be made...pay the man in charge at the toll gate...three shillings (including guide)...bathing...one shilling per day each...lodgings...six shillings per week for the whares (baths free)[28].

Photographers and sketchers were charged "three pounds to five pounds" in lieu of the commercial benefits they stood to make from selling the images they made. And

[28] The original notice of 1884 had been rediscovered amongst family papers by a local resident in 1932 and printed in the *Rotorua Morning Post,* June 20, 1932.

Figure 3.41 The Oil Bath, supplied by Korotiotio and Parekohuru hot springs, Whakarewarewa, c. 1885, shared by villagers and visitors (Photograph: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, B4336)

Figure 3.42 'Cooking at Whakarewarewa, placing potatoes in the boiling pool', women and girls carrying tukohu, strong cooking baskets that are immersed in boiling pools to cook food, second from the left is Guide Sophia, c. 1893 (Postcard: private collection)

Figure 3.43 Tukohu, strong functional open-work cooking basket, lowered into boiling hot springs and steam jets by long handles, collected by Makereti from Whakarewarewa in 1925, and donated by her to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1927 (1927.8.1, Width 29cm)

whilst souvenir-hunters would incur "a penalty not to exceed five pounds" for "breaking up any scenery", visitors were permitted "to buy any ornaments of the place", priced at "two shillings and six pence for all pieces, or for one small box one pound"[29]. As at Wairoa, where similar access tolls, service charges and fees were charged to visitors, sketchers and photographers, and fines were issued to those attempting to write upon or remove parts of the terrace, so Whakarewarewa residents had implemented a sophisticated management system that was anything but economically naïve and considerable economic opportunities were afforded to those living in popular scenic locations.

In 1885 government minister John Ballance expressed the opinion that "the custom...to levy blackmail upon tourists – to charge extortionate sums for seeing the springs" was damaging of the industry, advising Ngati Whakaue "if you charge too much you will keep the tourists away; you should, therefore, fix a low scale for the charges, if there are to be any, and not depart from the scale"[30]. Similarly, at Whakarewarewa a fee of three shillings to enter the village and view the springs was dismissed as "prohibitive"[31]. Ballance advised Ngati Wahiao to let the government erect a footbridge into the village, and to reduce their entry fees to 1s 6d, suggesting "you will receive more money...because you will be attracting tourists"[32].

That same year the government proceeded to erect a footbridge over the Puarenga stream, making Whakarewarewa more accessible to tourists and reducing their dependency upon a local guide (figure 3.44), although some guides appear apt at humorously reminding their guests who was in charge. As a visitor to Whakarewarewa remarked,

> While at the sulphur baths this afternoon, our guide showed us a cooking hole, in which he said many a man had been prepared for the feast; and he said it with a savage gusto, as though he would have liked to have had a taste of us (Tangye 1886).

As suggested by Douglas in relation to early nineteenth century encounters in the Pacific (1999: 81), although such 'cannibal tales' in colonial accounts may, on one level, tend toward the derogatory, suggesting an inferior savage state, they may also form an indirect register of a subversive humour that mocks, or even knocks an

[29] *Ibid.*
[30] Ballance (1885a: 48)
[31] Ballance (1885b: 53)
[32] *Ibid.*

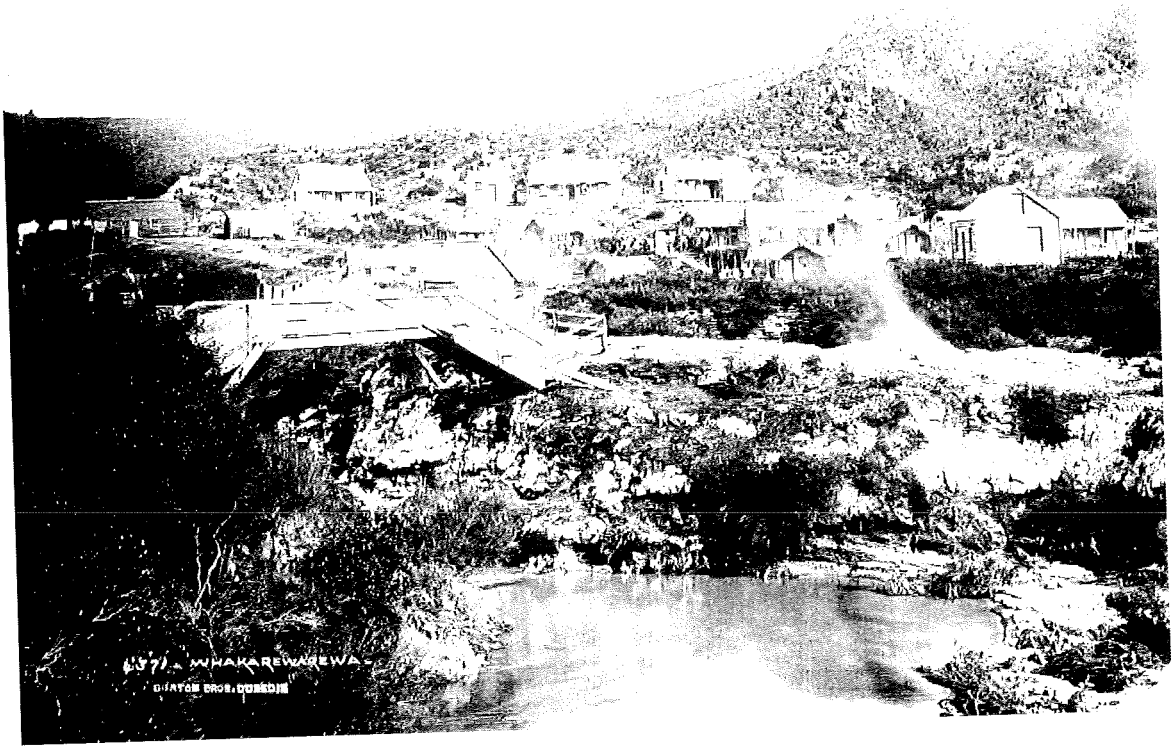

Figure 3.44 Whakarewarewa village with new footbridge access, opened in 1885 (Photograph: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 247)

assumed sense of European superior authority. Perhaps this anecdote registers a joke intended to tease the 'civilised' with the horrors of 'savagedom'; perhaps it is intentionally subversive, registering a momentary reversal of such power relationships that places the tourist on altogether shakier ground. Either way for visitors assured of their inherent superiority the send-up could fall on deaf ears, triggering instead a sense of moral self-importance given the burgeoning need to civilise others.

Criticisms other than extortion were levelled at local communities, with some visitors describing scenes of drunkenness and debauchery. At Wairoa, there were complaints of the 'lewdness' of dances held in Hinemihi (Talbot 1882: 42). Comparison was made between Maori dances and Parisian dance halls and casinos, "got up for the delectation of male travellers" (Lacy 1899, cited in Awekotuku 1981: 159). Given the suggestiveness of the romantic travel advertisement, depicting a near naked 'maiden' juxtaposed with Shakespearian poetry alluding to fertility (see figure 2.18), Te Awekotuku's suggestion that far from being negative travellers' reports of lewd dances were more likely to encourage the Victorian male traveller seems convincing (*ibid*). Possibly of greater local concern at the time was the spread of debilitating and often fatal introduced diseases. In 1885 a government health report noted alarmingly high levels of typhoid, pulmonary diseases and infant mortality (Gallop 1998: 49). Tangihanga were frequent at Hinemihi, in which several deceased were laid out for weeks at a time whilst the customary obsequies took place. Bodies then removed to atamira (small wooden structures that housed the deceased along with important personal possessions, such as items of dress) where they would decompose in a state of intense tapu, before the bones could be cleaned and buried at a later date (*ibid*). The observation of these customs paid little heed to visitors' tastes and desires. Not only did tangihanga take precedence over dances, unaccustomed to these practices visitors were likely to have found the presence (and odour) of the dead offensive.

An alarming increase in mortality in any community would instil a considerable degree of concern and anxiety, and this is perhaps reflected in the tohunga (priestly expert) Tuhoto Te Ariki's prediction that calamity would befall the people of the region. On June 10, 1886, his prediction came true. A violent volcanic

eruption in the Tarawera Mountain and a tremendous earthquake destroyed Otukapuarangi and Te Tarata (the pink and white terraces), blowing the bones of the ancestors from tapu burial caves in the mountain, and burying the village of Wairoa and the surrounding area in mud, ash and lava, claiming the lives of one hundred and fifty three people[33]. Occurring at a time of general economic depression across the country (Sutch 1969), the Tarawera eruption was a calamity that would throw prosperous, influential Arawa descent groups of the region into spiritual, social and economic despair.

Many of the survivors at Wairoa were those who had gathered in Guide Sophia's wharepuni and in Hinemihi, both of which withstood the eruption. These included Tene Waitere, one of the experts who carved Hinemihi and would later produce many significant carvings in the Rotorua district (Gallop 1998: 57). Survivors relocated to various locations, many were given new homes amongst close relatives at Whakarewarewa. The burden of receiving survivors and of holding tangihanga (funerary rites) for victims fell to surrounding relatives, and the economic strain could be met by the sale of land interests. During the late nineteenth century, at times when important tribal elders and people of high standing passed away, government land agents were dispatched to the region to lend money, foodstuffs or other goods needed to host large ceremonies. Where hapu accepted cash advances or loans secured by provisions, their land interests could be proclaimed 'under negotiation'. These questionable methods were presented to the public with a disturbingly self-congratulatory tone, implying the benevolence, rather than the malevolence of the state. For example, during the tangihanga of Niramona Pini, a leading elder of Ngati Whakaue, the local paper reported:

> Provisions are in abundance, the visit of Mr Tole, Commissioner for Crown Lands having materially assisted in meeting the demands through the distribution of £600 amongst the Rotorua natives three days ago, though an advance of £100 had been made since to supplement the supplies[34].

At Ohinemutu, following the Thermal-Springs Districts Act of 1881 Ngati Whakaue should have been assured of a secure income from the lease of the Pukeroa-Oruawhata township block. However, during this period of general economic depression rents had failed to materialise, and, reluctantly, from 1889 sections of the

[33] *The New Zealand Herald,* June 11, 1886
[34] November 17, 1885, *Bay of Plenty Times*

proposed township area began to be sold through the government. Only a few years after its implementation, Arawa hapu voiced strong objections to the patriarchal and monopolising stranglehold of the Thermal-Springs Districts Act, which prevented them from governing their own affairs and effectively treated them like children. They protested against the extortionate fees charged by government land surveyors, and the considerable costs incurred when attending lengthy court hearings in other towns. Many complained of being forced to sell the land interests they received in court to pay for debts incurred whilst attending court hearings (Ballance 1885a).

For those without land interests, other valuables could be sold to interested visitors. As with the reluctant seller described by Fowler (page 116), who sold his pataka carvings because he had fallen upon hard times, so in 1892 Ngati Hinemihi sold their ancestral meetinghouse Hinemihi to Lord Onslow the Governor General of New Zealand for fifty pounds (having negotiated his initial offer of twenty five pounds). Onslow removed Hinemihi to Clandon Park, his estate in Surrey, where she remains today. Initially used as a boathouse, Hinemihi has recently been restored by Ngati Hinemihi, her descendants, in conjunction with the National Trust (Gallop 1998). Today she forms an important ancestral connection for many Maori living in Britain, and is used as a marae on a regular basis by London Maori Cultural Group, Ngati Ranana. For those living in areas of prime geothermal activity, such as the Whakarewarewa thermal valley and geyser plateau, these locales could emerge from the shadow of the renowned pink and white terraces to become the new regional tourist attractions, offering villagers the means to generate a substantial income from tourism work. However, aware of the success of Wairoa as a Maori tourist resort, the government had its eye on Whakarewarewa.

3.7 The scramble for Whakarewarewa

With the destruction of Wairoa and the terraces, although already receiving visitors, the villages of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa emerged as popular tourist destinations in their own right (Leys 1886: 50). Ironically, although we might expect the scare of volcanic eruption to diminish tourist flow, depicting the frighteningly destructive yet strangely fascinating power of volcanic action created a novel and exciting attraction to the region. Cameramen were quick to the eruption scene,

photographing the aftermath and making 'before' and 'after' type postcards (figure 3.45), which continue to be popular today (figure 3.46). Volcanic action was not the only attraction to the region, as Josiah Martin's new series of 'instantaneous photographs' of the 'hot lake district' reveal, in addition to images of eruption aftermath and volcanic scenery, portraiture of the renowned guides Kate and Sophia, and of "distinguished Natives" more generally (figure 3.47) suggest great interest in Maori people, their villages and social life.

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, as Whakarewarewa village and valley were becoming increasingly significant attractions, a series of land court hearings took place in which hapu of Ngati Wahiao and Ngati Whakaue articulated their claims to the region, focussing on a hotly disputed hot spring and geyser plateau. In 1889, Ngati Wahiao applied to the land court for a partitioning of the lands at Whakarewarewa held jointly by Ngati Wahiao and Ngati Whakaue. According to Ngati Wahiao claimants, having previously laid claim to these lands through conquest and occupation, hapu of Ngati Wahiao claimed to have further substantiated their mana (customary authority) and rights in these lands through continual occupation, which included the construction of dwellings for invalids and the charging of tolls for access onto their lands as evidence in their case[35]. Ngati Whakaue objected to their claims and as a result of a subsequent hearing, Judges O'Brien and Von Sturmer repartitioned the area, awarding the majority of the thermal valley area to Ngati Whakaue claimants[36].

Three years later, Ngati Whakaue agreed the geyser area should be set aside as a national reserve available to the public and maintained by the state, and sold their interests to the government accordingly. Judge Wilson announced the ownership of the 'Whakarewarewa Block' with patronising regard for the inhabitants whose living area had been vastly reduced as a result of the hearings:

[35] Mita Taupopoki, November 21-25, 1889, Rotorua Minute Book 16: 48-109
[36] Judge Wilson, 29 November 1889, Rotorua Minute Book 17: 135-7; and Judges O'Brien and Sturmer, 24 October 1893, Rotorua Minute Book 28: 125.

Figure 3.45 Wairoa before and after the eruption of 10th June, 1886, (Postcard: author's collection)

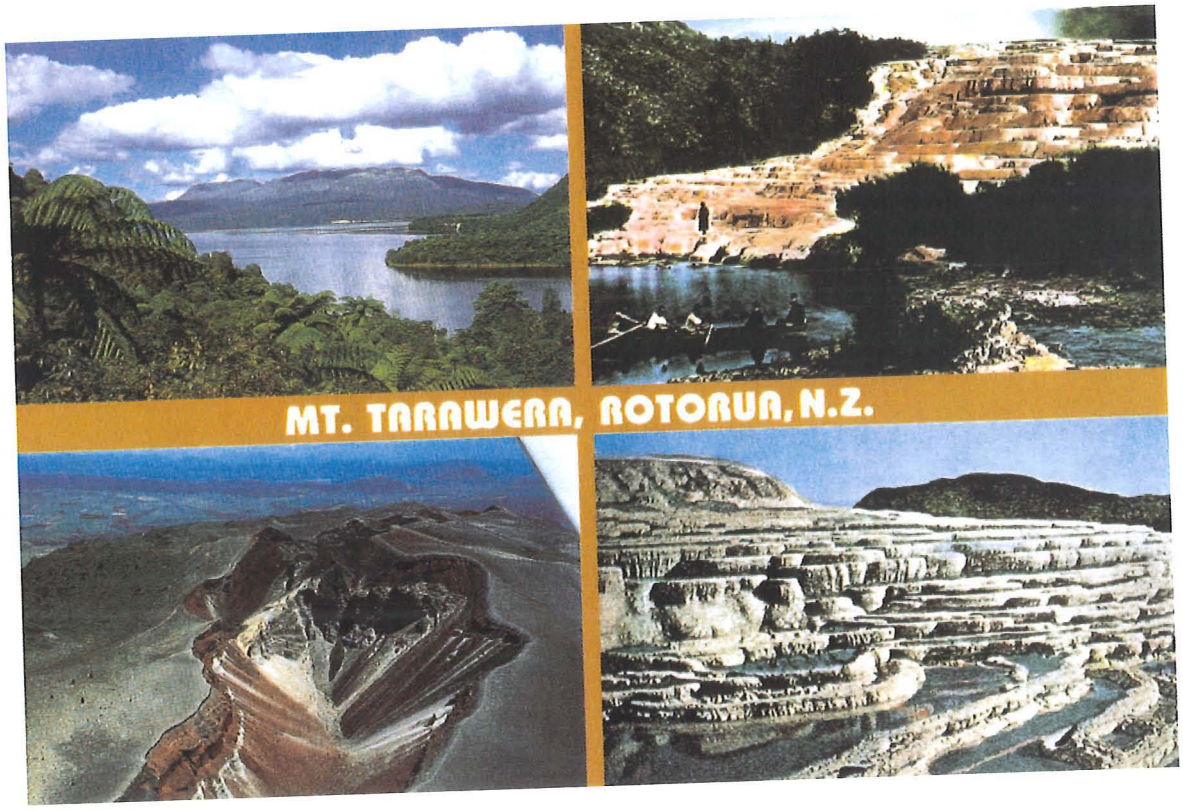

Figure 3.46 Popular photographic montage of the Pink and White Terraces before the eruption of 10th June, 1886, and Lake Tarawera and Tarawera Mountain crater today (Postcard: author's collection)

Figure 3.47 Advertisement for Josiah Martin's new series of photographs, issued following the eruption of Mount Tarawera, and including "Portraits of Kate and Sophia, the well-known guides to the terraces; and groups and portraits of distinguished Natives" (Private collection)

> The natives [Ngati Wahiao] have been awarded 58 acres in the centre of the block from the Puarenga river to the southern boundary containing the oil Bath, the old native burying ground on the top of the hill top, and the cooking and washing pools – in fact the whole of the area on which their whares stand. The bridge also crosses the creek into their ground but right of way to the Crown portions on either side is reserved. The portion awarded to the Crown comprises 157 acres and contains the whole of the geysers and other natural wonders on the western side of the native ground and on the eastern side Turikore, or the Spout bath and other springs. The award...ensures the continued presence of the natives on the ground. This in itself is a source of the greatest interest to the tourists who seem never tired of watching the peculiar manners and customs of the "Maori at Home". The abolition of the toll will follow in due course...Even after the toll is abolished the majority of tourists visiting the place will not begrudge the native who guides them round a trifling fee for his trouble[37].

Through these various hearings and partitions, the government acquired one of the prime visitor attractions, the geyser plateau. Yet behind the geysers lay a site of great importance to Ngati Wahiao, Te Puia Pa, a former fortified hilltop settlement of their ancestors (Waaka 1982), which they were forced to relinquish following the court order. Despite protests in the courthouse and numerous petitions sent to parliament by Ngati Wahiao hapu complaining of loss of homes, lands and resources for national reserves and roads[38], the Whakarewarewa partition remained in place (a partition that suited the ambitions of the government Tourist Department, as will become clear in chapter five).

Following the acquisition of the Whakarewarewa valley, the government appointed Guide Sophia as a temporary custodian, "so that the place may not be carried away piecemeal by relic hunting tourists"[39]. Significantly, her position was no longer negotiated through hapu/hotelier patronage relations, but through the Tourist Department. Consequently, the government desired to upgrade the footbridge into Whakarewarewa into a vehicular bridge and to build a road through the village to access the thermal reserve. Villagers were requested to give land for the road, which, they were told, would encourage a greater number of tourists to visit the place. Yet building work entailed the loss of homes and hereditary ancestral lands without compensation and sparked further letters of complaint to ministers[40].

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[37] *Hot Lakes Chronicle,* January 22, 1896

[38] Various petitions sent from Ngati Wahiao hapu resident at Whakarewarewa sent to Ministers in the colonial government, Wellington, between 1896 and 1897 can be found in NA MS TO 1, Box 35, 1902/90 'Whakarewarewa 1896-1898'.

[39] *Hot Lakes Chronicle,* March 18, 1896

[40] In particular, Mita Taupopoki sent numerous letters from November 1896 to January 1897 to various government ministers protesting at the loss of his home and surrounding land for the purposes

Although the government had been unable to enforce the abolition of entry tolls on Maori lands, following the Whakarewarewa partition and reduction of their lands, Ngati Wahiao reduced their fee from three shillings per person to the modest sum of one shilling and six, including guiding fee. However, the construction of a bridge as a 'public work' offered the government another opportunity to attempt to abolish toll fees[41]. When 'Wahiao Bridge' (figure 3.48) was officially opened in January 1897 with a customary powhiri ceremony given by Ngati Wahiao, villagers aired their grievances to visiting ministers:

> It is desired by the three hapus who reside at Whakarewarewa to lay before the officers of the Government their wishes and desires. One of these and the principal one is that [we] should still be allowed to levy toll on visitors crossing the bridge, as it was and has been for a long time their means of livelihood and they now ask it especially in the names of their women and children[42].

The point was overruled, as visiting minister Gerhard Mueller suggested the Ngati Wahiao toll would be "entirely abolished" and replaced with a government-run system,

> [A]s the Government have now acquired four-fifths or perhaps five-sixths of the block it was the intention to greatly reduce the toll or perhaps allow anyone to visit the sights, etc., quite free and...a certain sum be set apart and paid annually [by the Government] to the natives [Ngati Wahiao] in lieu of the toll gate receipts[43].

Whilst aimed at abolishing 'obnoxious tolls', in fact the Wahiao Bridge afforded new commercial opportunities for youngsters in the village, who took up the subversive occupation of performing the 'penny haka' to tourists on the bridge (figure 3.49). Older, more adventurous youngsters indulged in 'penny diving' off the government bridge into the Puarenga stream below, collecting money thrown by tourists as they entered the village. On a more serious note, with the reduction of lands and of access fees, selling goods and services would have become an increasingly important means

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of building a road through the village (see NA MS TO 1, Box 35, 1902/90 'Whakarewarewa 1896-1898').

[41] Letter from Gerhard Mueller, Commissioner of Crown Lands, to the Surveyor General, 15 January 1897, NA MS TO 1, Box 35, 1902/90 'Whakarewarewa 1896-1898'

[42] *Hot Lakes Chronicle,* January 11, 1897

[43] *Ibid.*

Figure 3.48 Recently opened Wahiao Bridge enables greater access to Whakarewarewa. To the left, a horse-drawn carriage brings tourists to the village, c. 1903 (Postcard: author's collection)

Figure 3.49 'Children's Haka, Whakarewarewa, N. Z.' Popular postcard of a novel entrepreneurial activity, the penny haka, c. 1900 (Postcard: private collection)

of making a living amongst adult generations, which included the manufacture and sale of various kinds of souvenir.

3.8 Novel entrepreneurial forms and practices

The Geyser Hotel – a grand and luxurious building built in 1886 on the approach to Whakarewarewa village by William Rogers (brother of Raiha Bennett) (figure 3.50) – attracted wealthy tourists to the locale. Arriving in horse-drawn carriages and coaches from their hotels, they were dropped at Wahiao Bridge, received by local guides and escorted through the treacherously thin grounds of Whakarewarewa village and thermal valley. With the strenuous task of carrying tourists across the Puarenga river no longer necessary, guiding become a profession open to Ngati Wahiao women, who received tips from their experienced Tuhourangi relatives that had relocated from Wairoa, including the veteran Guide Sophia.

Through their new occupation, guides frequently came into contact with well-heeled and fashionably dressed European women who, arriving in grandiose dresses and elegant boots, worn with ostentatious hats and parasols, bore outfits that suited their social class rather than the local terrain (figure 3.51). Travellers' accounts of the time found it incongruent that local women should be interested in wearing up-to-date European fashions (Willis 1894: 48). This amounted to "odd combinations of Parisien elegance and Maori dishabille" (Anon 1891: 51). Similar oddities were observed in the 'dress' of ancestral houses, made from imported weatherboards and iron roofing, yet "lavishly adorned both within and without with carved panels and grotesque figures...brightly painted chiefly with red ochre" (*ibid*). Despite these romantic imaginings of travel to a place beyond the reach of industrial modernity, trader, missionary and visitor presence in the region had enabled access to imported goods from around the mid nineteenth century and income from tourism services provided the means to acquire them.

Locals appear inspired by European forms and fashions in their modification of customary designs. For example, Neich details the production of carved tokotoko (walking sticks) probably inspired by both the European fashion and an earlier longer form of tokotoko used by Maori orators (1991; 2001: 234-5). Similarly, postcard images reveal women selling small, handheld, highly patterned bags along popular

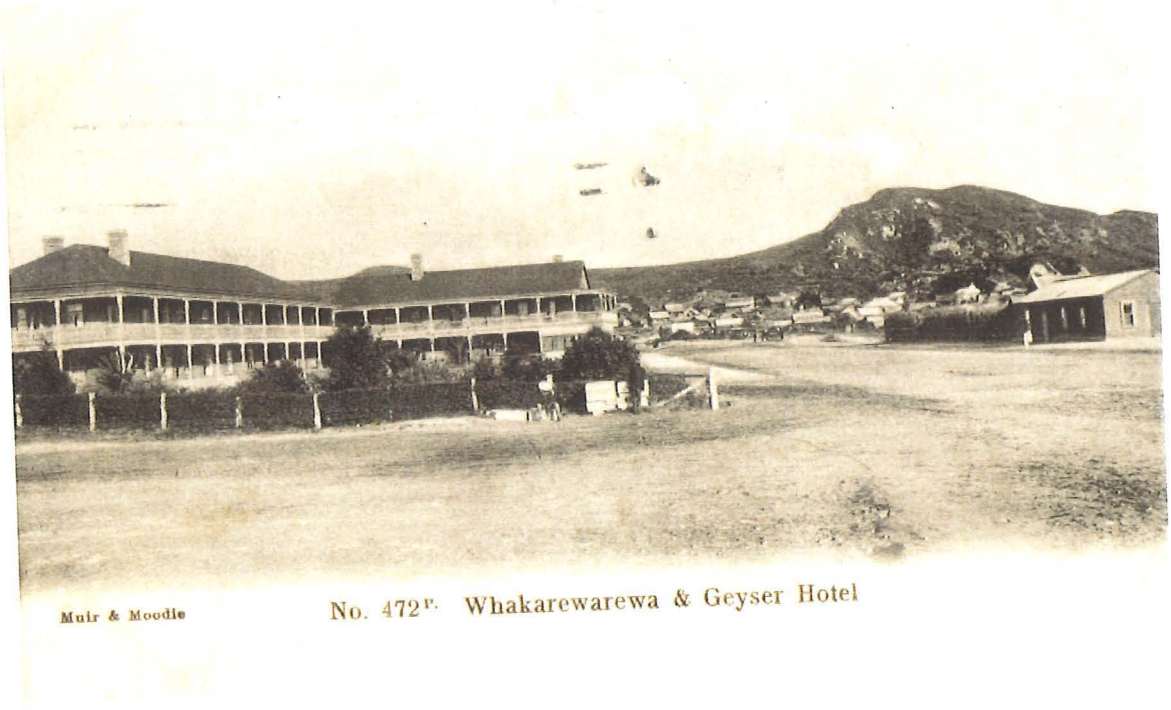

Figure 3.50 Geyser Hotel, Whakarewarewa. Built in 1886 by William Rogers, brother of Raiha Bennett, and run by Charles Nelson from 1894. Whakarewarewa village is in the distance, c. 1900 (Postcard: author's collection)

Figure 3.51 Wealthy and fashionable women arrive by carriage at Wahiao Bridge, where they are met by local guides and toured through Whakarewarewa kainga and thermal valley, c. 1900 (Photograph: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 4714)

tourist routes, probably inspired by the European handbag (figures 3.52). Customarily, larger, intricately patterned plaited baskets were used to store and carry valuables such as fine cloaks, and were strung over the shoulder or back by a drawstring laced through loops to pull the top closed (figure 3.53) (Pendergrast 1998: 122). During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century local weavers made a range of these smaller kete whakairo (plaited 'handbags') in a variety of shapes and sizes, with attractive and eye-catching colourful designs, using local plant dyes and imported, brightly coloured chemical ones (figure 3.54). Gell's notions of the stickiness of patterns (that act as cognitive traps, luring viewers into their designs 1998: 79-83), and of the captivating effects of intricately fashioned artworks (such as Trobriand canoe prows that dazzle Kula operators into surrendering their valuables 1998: 68-72), might productively be applied to here, in that their captivating designs could capture the attention of passing tourists, causing them to surrender their money and purchase a distinctive souvenir.

Consuming Maori dress as a fashion statement was expressed explicitly in the diary of Constance Astley who stayed at the Geyser Hotel in 1898. Amongst other things purchased from one of several 'curiosity' shops in town, Astley bought a "flax blanket fringed with feathers", which she acquired even through it was, in her opinion, "frightfully expensive", because she considered it to be a striking item of dress in which she intended "to create a sensation" when she returned to Britain (cited in Neich 2001: 253). Astley's purchase of a relatively large and expensive dress item runs contrary to the kinds of qualities typically attributed to 'tourist arts' (small, light, portable, relatively inexpensive) (Graburn 1976). Similarly, the idea that she might create a fashion sensation when returning home suggests a concern with social effects, with doing, or more specifically with dazzling her contemporaries, rather than an anti-modern searching for deep and meaningful cultural values and a preoccupation with elucidating the authenticity of things[44].

During the late nineteenth century vendors of souvenirs cropped up in locations frequented by tourists and tour parties, such as outside of hotels, at popular tour destinations and along standard routes travelled between them. Charles Nelson,

[44] The latter being a primary concern of the majority of literature on tourist arts to date (see for example, Graburn ibid; 1999; 2004; Stewart 1984; Phillips and Steiner 1999; Steiner 1999).

Figure 3.52 Weaver at Te Ngae Pa, displaying kete whakairo for sale to passing tourists on route to Tikitere thermal valley c. 1900 (Photograph: T E Donne Scrapbook, Alexander Turnbull Library, MS qMS-0619)

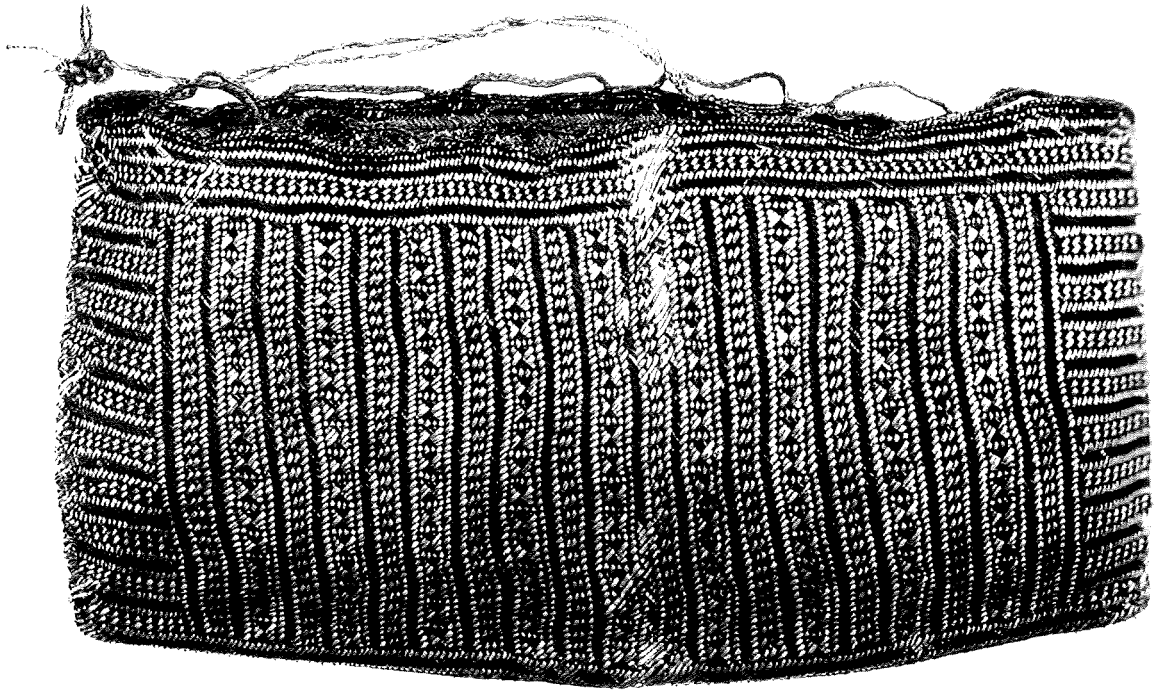

Figure 3.53 Kete whakairo, large basket with drawstring closure, plaited in intricate pattern, used for storing and carrying valuables. Collected by missionary William Colenso, between 1852 and 1899, British Museum, BM Ethno. 1960 Oc. 11.5, width 81.5cm (Photograph from Pendergrast 1998: 122)

Figure 3.54 Kete whakairo plaited using harakeke and green chemical dye, with red and white wool handles (probably a later repair) (above, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, X213, Width 40cm); Kete whakairo plaited using harakeke and brown vegetable dye (middle, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, 87.9, Width 42cm); Kete whakairo plaited using pingao and pink and purple chemical dye (below, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, X212, Width 38cm).

manager of the Geyser Hotel, hired local Ngati Tarawhai expert carver Tene Waitere to make souvenirs such as walking sticks, bowls, carved pipes and replica weapons for tourists from a workshop at the hotel (Neich 2001: 253). Nelson also commissioned Tene Waitere and other Ngati Tarawhai experts to make carvings to furnish the hotel and its surroundings, including a large, fully carved wharepuni (meetinghouse) named Rauru, but referred to colloquially by Whakarewarewa residents, townsfolk and tourists as 'the carved house' or 'Nelson's house' (figure 3.55). Additionally, Nelson also commissioned the weaving of tukutuku panels to line the interior of the house, organised through Mita Taupopoki and Bella Thom of Whakarewarewa[45]. After three years work and an investment of around £1200 on the part of Nelson, Rauru was ceremonially opened on March 25-26, 1900[46]. Nelson provided hospitality for around two hundred guests, including the Ngapuhi relatives of his first wife, and made presentations of two mere pounamu (nephrite weapons) to his Ngati Awa guests. In other words, the construction and ceremonial opening of Rauru involved considerable personal investment on the part of Nelson, made possible through his personal relationships with influential Maori in Arawa and other regional descent groups.

From 1889 small steam vessels brought tourists across Lake Rotorua to Mokoia Island (figure 3. 56), where they were taken to see 'Hinemoa's Bath' (figure 3.57), a hot pool where the Tuhourangi ancestress Hinemoa is said to have bathed whilst recovering from her arduous swim across Lake Rotorua. Hinemoa was the daughter of the great Tuhourangi leader, Umukaria, father of Wahiao, who begat Ngati Wahiao. As a rangatira, a woman of senior lineage, Hinemoa was made a puhi and was tapu or set apart. Her partner would conventionally be chosen by her people, as the union and the birth of future children were of great political significance, affecting allegiances between groups and the future lineage of the people. Hidden under cover of darkness, Hinemoa, in defiance of her people's wishes, swam across the lake to be united with Tutanekai, a son of rival leader, Whakaue, who begat Ngati Whakaue. In defying her people's wishes, Hinemoa took considerable risk, as her life

[45] Mita Taupopoki, Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao leader, in correspondence with Thomas Cheeseman, curator Auckland Institute and Museum (AIM MS 'Correspondence to Accounts, the erection of Maori House, January-October 1906)
[46] *New Zealand Graphic,* April 7, 1900

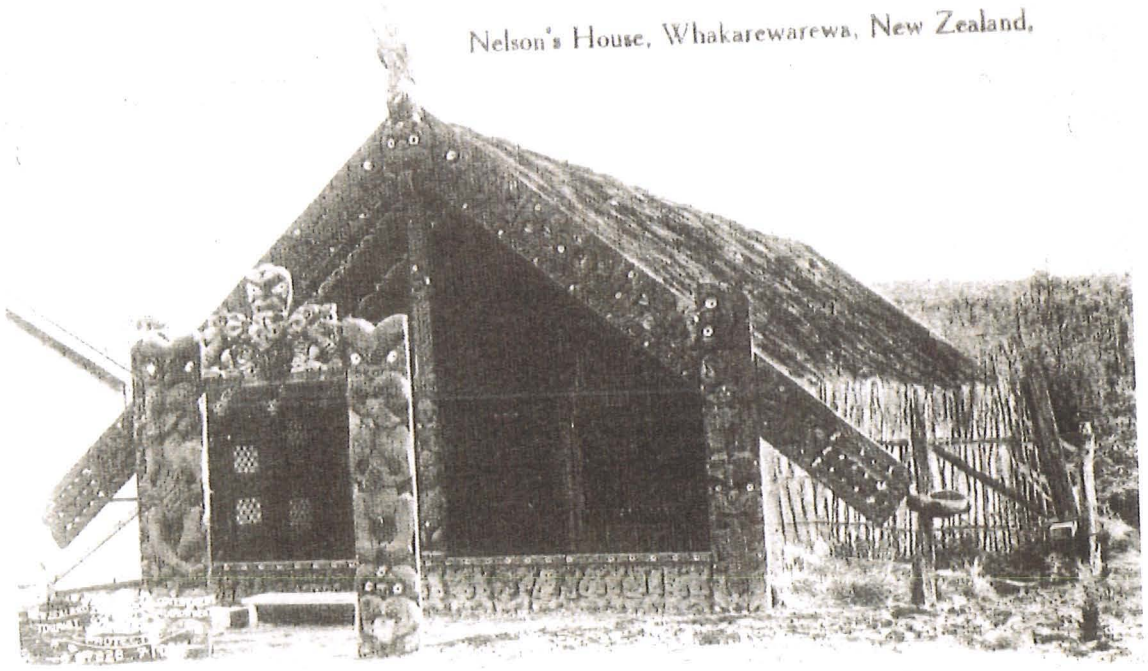

Figure 3.55 'Nelson's House, Whakarewarewa, New Zealand', postcard image of Rauru, Whakarewarewa, c. 1900, produced by the national tourist department (Private Collection)

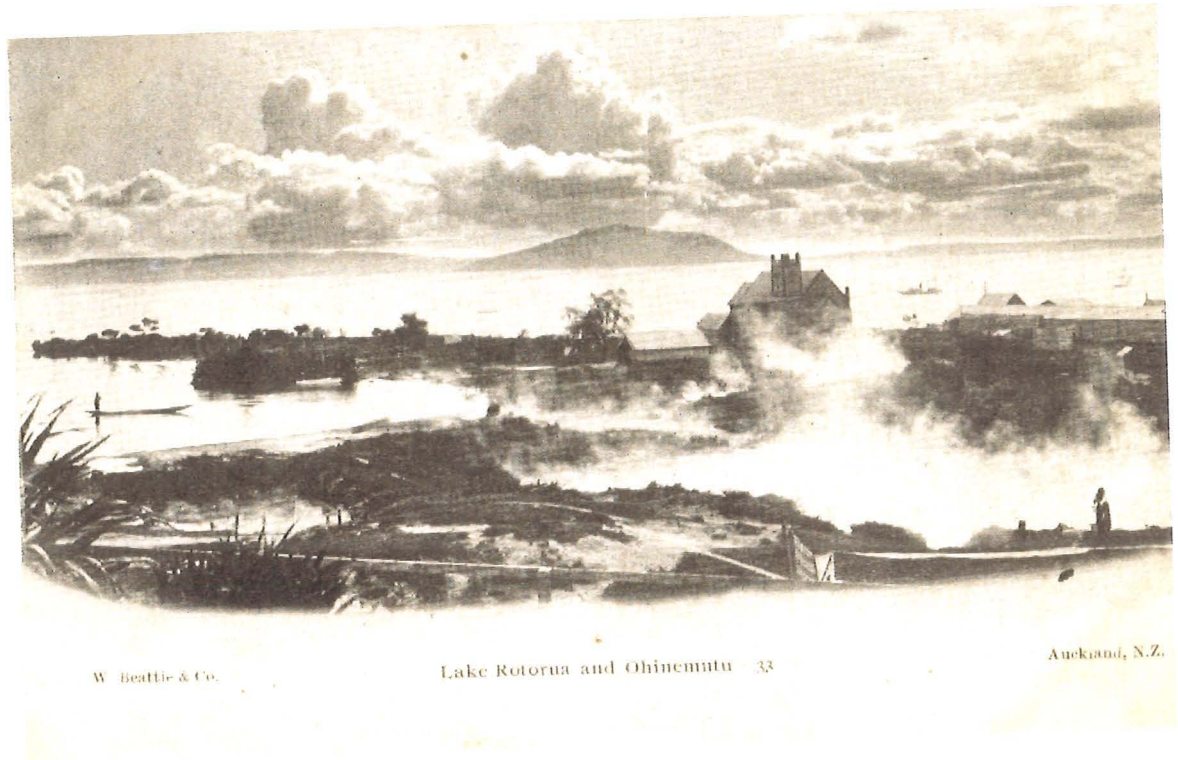

Figure 3.56 Ohinemutu pa (settlement) on Lake Rotorua, with Mokoia Island in the centre background, with a small steam boat out on the lake, c. 1905 (Postcard: author's own)

Figure 3.57 'Hinemoa's Bath, Mokoia Island, Rotorua, N.Z.', c. 1905 (Postcard: author's own)

Figure 3.58 Selling souvenirs on Mokoia Island, c. 1900, a large variety of kete whakairo hang from the wall of a wharepuni, Ko Kaitangata (Photograph: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa)

and the life of Tutanekai may have been taken in payment for such an offence, which in turn could have provoked war (Makereti 1938: 91-100). Guides often recounted this courageous event in the political history of the people to tourists in their charge. Hugely popular amongst visitors, the scene was typically interpreted as one of true romance. Criticised in Guide Maggie's/Makereti's account (1905), a notion of romantic love popular in Victorian novels at the time is quite distinct from the local genealogical significance of their union.

As this tour route became popular, vendors of souvenirs began to market their wares at Mokoia Island (figure 3.58) (Neich 2001: 253). Steamers returning from the island landed at Te Ngae pa, where passengers disembarked on route to Tikitere, a thermally active valley further inland. Along the route from Te Ngae to Tikitere weavers displayed kete whakairo for sale directly from their homes (see figure 3.52). By 1893, with trips to Mokoia Island becoming increasingly popular, a dispute had arisen between two hapu claiming customary authority over the lands crossed by tour parties (Stafford 1986: 349). Whereas European visitors were accustomed to paying for goods or services, or for access to privately held lands, the idea that multiple tolls could be exacted by numerous landholding groups contradicted understandings of exclusive ownership, leading to complaints of extortion. From a local perspective, charging tolls to visitors had in itself become a means of demonstrating ancestral rights and entitlements in lands, hence where ownership was contested by multiple groups it became imperative to each to claim their rightful return, or risk losing their customary authority[47]. Mana (ancestral authority) over lands had in the past been resolved through warfare. However, in pacified times the different hapu involved in the dispute negotiated an agreement between them to levy a single fee, a novel means of resolving the longstanding issue of inter-hapu rivalry with regard to valuable lands and resources.

Complaints of extortion occur in numerous tourist accounts of the late nineteenth century, in combination with other, more positive accounts of the same locations. Whilst Sutter remarks that Ohinemutu people are "very civil and polite, ready for anything, from carrying a provision basket to dancing the "haka"" (1887: 91), Willis complains of extortion, claiming, "the European must pay for almost the

[47] Maori Land Court Minutes, November 15, 1889, Rotorua Minute Book 17: 1

words that are spoken to him. To witness one of their ceremonies is tantamount to taking a private box at the opera" (1894: 48), and implies fraudulence, warning, "Some professional guides manufacture histories of this pa, as they do of other interesting places. Tourists may take this as a useful hint" (*ibid*). These observations are recorded five years apart, however on one occasion 'The Warrigal' wrote, Ohinemutu is "perhaps the most interesting village in the world", where guides explain and recount their descent group's history "with all the power of a splendid storyteller"[48]. Only one month later the same writer complained, "They welcome him heartily, make themselves as useful to him as possible, and get as much from him as they can...[asking] fabulous prices for manufactured relics of savagedom, pounds for faulty pipes, and beg shillings for bacca and beer"[49]. Such ambivalence toward local industry complicates Awekotuku's generalisation that traveller's accounts become scathing as Maori entrepreneurial efforts increased, which she interprets as a jealous response to local economic success (Awekotuku 1981: 55). Contradictions in visitor accounts suggest a less straightforward relationship between commercial success and criticism: criticisms may well be jealous or racist remarks, but they may also indicate conflicting and deeply entrenched understandings of 'property' and 'ownership' or social entitlements in valuable resources (the practice of charging multiple tolls onto contested lands is a clear example). They may also indicate an increasing dependency upon sale of goods and services to tourists, following land alienation, loss of autonomy, economic depression and a loss of authority to procure tolls from visitors.

On a more general level, the scathing remarks of some visitors were perhaps an expression of the considerable social, political and economic segregations occurring in Maori/European relations by the close of the nineteenth century. The colonial land court had facilitated swift acquisition of prime areas of geothermal activity and tourism industry and land matters were of increasing urgency for Arawa descent groups. Throughout the 1890s hui were held in Tamatekapua meetinghouse to elect a council to represent Arawa descent groups as part of a Kotahitanga, a Maori parliament (Stafford 1986: 149-152). Angered by the loss of autonomous self-governance and the stranglehold of the Thermal-Springs Districts Act of 1881 and

[48] *The Weekly Press*, August 16, 1889
[49] *The Weekly Press*, September 6, 1889

Native Land Court proceedings, such a novel political movement perhaps appealed to many. Following the sale of township plots settlers could operate businesses independently of local hapu. Prior settler businesses established through Maori patronage relations, that stood on lands now designated as 'thermal reserves' (public parks) or 'native title' (land held by hapu, inalienable except through crown purchase), were treated as illegal squats and given eviction notices. This created a physical segregation between Maori kainga and settler-township, severing a deeper history of Maori/European co-habitation and entrepreneurial relationships traced in chapter two.

For new businesses opening up in the colonial township, the close of the nineteenth century promised a new era for large-scale organised tourism as hotels upsized, purveyors of imported goods and retailers of Maori 'curios' proliferated, and visitor influx increased dramatically with the opening of a rail connection in 1894. These developments created more than severe economic competition for descent group businesses operating at Ohinemutu and Whakarewaewa. Increase in population stretched local facilities, such as water sanitation and sewerage, facilities that were being unequally developed between expanding township and shrinking kainga. For Arawa hapu living on vastly reduced estates, a subsistence economy had shifted to a monetary one and people became increasingly dependent upon generating income from tourism-related activities. Maintaining a foothold in the tourism industry would require careful negotiation of relationships with an emerging group of influential European patrons, including settler entrepreneurs, the tourist department of the colonial government, and distinguished visitors. In the following chapter I consider the significance of these changing patronage relations with an exploration of the elaborate ceremonial welcome extended to the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in June 1901.

CHAPTER FOUR

VISITS OF CEREMONY AND PRESENTATIONS OF DANCE AND DRESS

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters I have demonstrated how, during the nineteenth century, European access to the Roturua region and to Arawa Maori people, social life, knowledge and things, proceeded through negotiation with regional descent groups who inherited and defended their customary ancestral rights in the region's lands and resources. During the latter part of the nineteenth century – a period of intense upheaval through warfare, colonial settlement, rapid land alienation and of increasing legal and political entrenchment of a settler-colonial government – Arawa regional descent groups experienced decreasing autonomy and authority over their ancestral lands and resources, and their ability to exercise customary rights in accordance with long-standing proprietary principles declined.

In this same period a colonial governor and an imperial monarch had been received onto Arawa lands as distinguished guests with powhiri (ceremonial welcome), during which host groups presented themselves to visitors in certain ways, displaying ceremonial attire and performing ancient forms of oratory, song and dance. In this chapter I explore why such hospitality might have been extended to colonial and imperial authorities during a time of upheaval and disempowerment through consideration of the role that things might play in mediating relations between hosts and guests, raising issues of incommensurability between the understandings each party brought to the exchange, and suggesting the ramifications of these differences. This discussion sets the scene for chapter five, which develops a more extended analysis of the local effects of shifting colonial power relations, and of the increasing degrees of influence exerted by a number of significant European patrons of Maori arts in the development of Rotorua's tourism industry.

Taking the Maori reception extended to the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901 as a case study, I consider in detail the ceremonial presentations made to the royal visitors. Whilst this detail may seem more than is necessary to consider the way in which Maori may, in this period, have sought to mediate relations with visiting imperial and colonial authorities through things, it should also be borne in mind that part of the exchange relationship of creating this thesis has been to provide information of collections in overseas locations. As detailed in chapter one (section 1.5), such exchanges form an important basis upon which to establish the personal relationships through which study may proceed. Even though I may seem to cover a substantial number of presentations, on this day thousands of people made hundreds of presentations of speeches, performances, ceremonial attire and ancestral taonga. It has only been possible to cover a fraction of them here.

4.2 Ceremonial welcome, dress and the mediation of relations

> Visits of ceremony are made among the chiefs, with a gravity and decorum that would distinguish the respective parties in any part of the globe (Polack 1888: 80)
>
> The natives are in the habit of making presents to each other, and other acts of courtesy...handsome mats, kegs of gunpowder...and other articles equally invaluable, are given as presents among them. Few European residents would credit the expensive gifts that are interchanged among chieftains (Polack 1888: 178-182)

Historically, powhiri operated as elaborate ceremonial proceedings through which host groups could negotiate the potentially dangerous arrival of strangers in their midst by presenting themselves to visiting parties with a show of force. Entry into pa was carefully negotiated through narrow kuwaha or gateways, typically carved with ancestor figures, painted in red ochre, and embellished with clusters of feathers (figure 4.1). Via these devices, through which one person could enter at a time, the passage of strangers into the pa could be carefully controlled so as to assess whether visitors came in peace or otherwise. Intentions were not always easy to gauge hence the scale of powhiri ceremony, which involves the delivery of wero (ceremonial challenge) that would initiate a simulated contest. However, both parties to the encounter took this simulation very seriously as it could erupt into serious fighting at any point. An attack on the pa would have grave consequences for the defeated party,

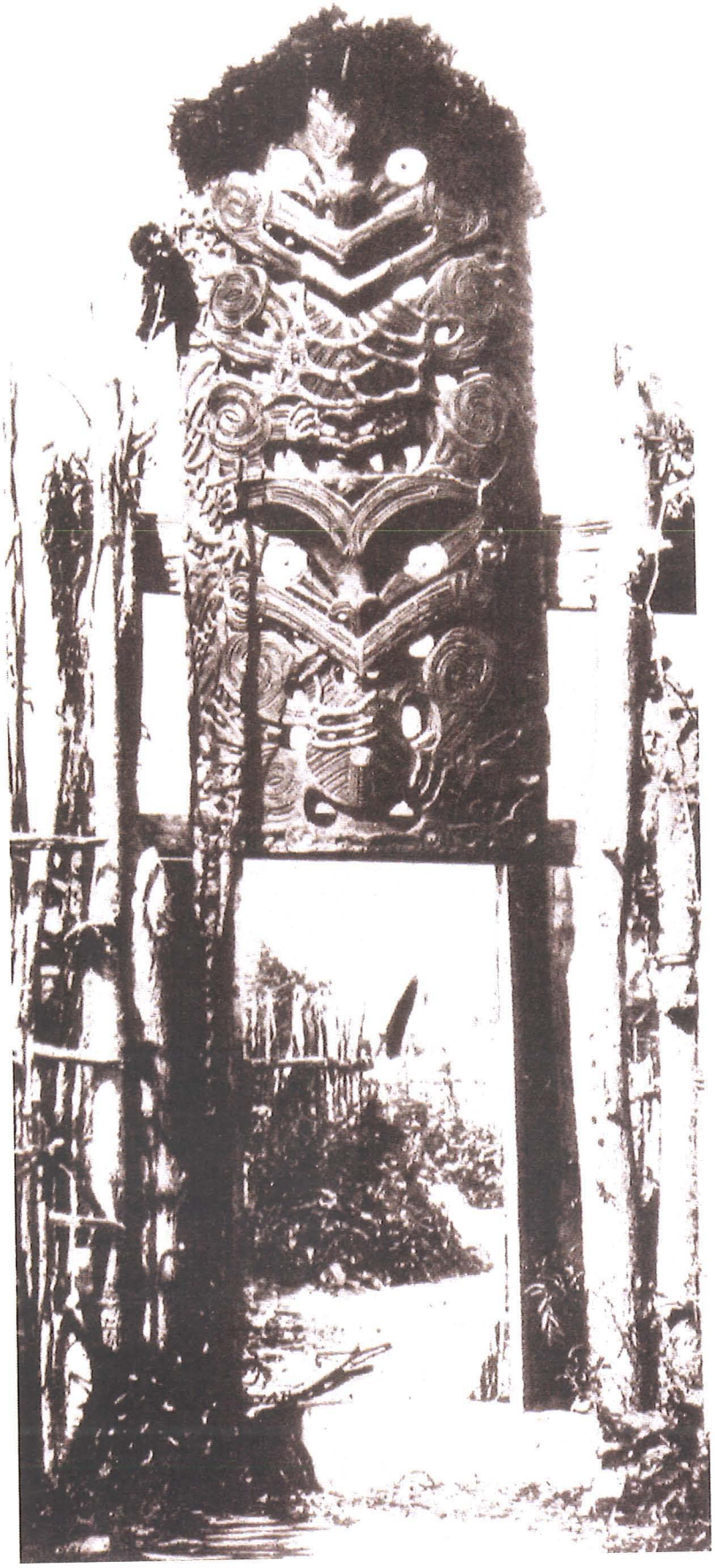

Figure 4.1 Elaborately carved and feathered Kuwaha (ancestral gateway or mouth) Maketu pa, c. 1865 (Photograph by Reverend John Kinder, Auckland Institute and Museum Collection)

who might flee, be taken hostage, or be killed and cooked in hangi ovens and eaten (Stafford 1967: 192).

With the powhiri peacefully negotiated, the hui (ceremonial gathering) could then proceed to the crucially important skill of speechmaking. It was through oratory – embellished with poetry, song and dance – that a leader could influence the opinions of the group and acquire their support, leadership operating through public consensus rather than order. The arts of martial challenge and defence, oratory and gesture, song and dance were therefore central to political life. Prowess in these areas was hugely admired as it could add to the mana (ancestral authority and efficacy) of a descent group and their leaders because, although varying amounts of mana are inherited through descent, from birth onwards mana can be contested and acquired or lost accordingly, for example, through leadership skills, military action, the dispensing of hospitality, or childbearing (Salmond 1975: 12-13; Makereti 1938: 112).

In former times, hui often involved hakari (banquets) in which vast quantities of regional delicacies were displayed on specially constructed stages as part of the pursuit of mana or reputation (Cowan 1910: 157-8; Best 1924: 380; Buller 1878: 91; Firth 1929: 312-3, 327-8), or contained within ostentatiously carved and painted pataka (food stores) ornamented with feathers (Neich 1998: 74-5). Pataka might be carved with imagery of whales and other abundant foodstuffs (illustrated in chapter three figure 3.3); or named suggestively, such as a famous pataka that stood in Muruika pa, Ohinemutu, (illustrated in chapter two, figures 2.2 and 2.4) named Tatua Wetekia – loosen your belly band - indicating at once the abundant foodstuffs within and the generousness with which they would be dispensed to guests (Mair 1923: 6). Where people of senior position were involved presentations of valuables were made, such as luxury foodstuffs, garments, ornaments and weaponry (Polack 1888: 79-80) and, from the nineteenth century, imported valuables, such as gunpowder might be presented (*ibid*: 178-182)[1].

[1] Cannon and gun fire were incorporated into powhiri ceremonial, especially at tangi mate (funerary observations) where the thunderous sound of gunfire was portentous of the separation of the mauri of the deceased from their physical frame (as noted in 'Tangimate: Lament for the Dead', Box 4, Section P, Makereti Papakura Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum; see also Oppenheim 1973: 49)

Today ceremonial hui are held on marae across the country[2], demonstrating striking continuity in the performative aspects of ceremonial welcome to those witnessed by early European voyagers to the Pacific[3]. Whilst the competitive hakari of former times declined in scale during the first half of the twentieth century (Salmond 1975: 18), hui continue to be held through which hosts stand to gain considerable prestige by the dispensing of generous hospitality and lavish entertainment, although this is not likely to be the sole reason for gathering (Tauroa 1986). Nowadays, in popular parlance people conjure up similar images of plenty when evaluating hui, asking, for example, 'How was the kai [food]?' If considered approvingly, manaakitanga (hospitality) might be likened to a bulging table over-laden with provisions. More informally, comments include, 'You can tell the mana of a hui by the strength of the cordial!' In either case, hospitality, and in particular kai (food), remain central to people's assessment of the proceedings and hosts who wish to pay respect to their guests' social position and be assured of their support on matters of importance, would do wisely to host generously.

As a special tribute and honour, valuable taonga (treasured ancestral heirlooms) such as kakahu (woven cloaks), weaponry or pendants have been presented to visitors, noted in both historical and more recent accounts (Polack 1888; Makereti 1938; Tapsell 1997). Presentations made on certain occasions, such as upon marriage, may carry the expectation that the taonga, and others, would eventually return to future descendants to mark some significant occasion, such as the passing of a senior relative (Makereti 1938: 67-70). Hence in the reception of visitors, ceremonial attire has played, and continues to play, a highly significant role in both the mediation of relations between regional descent groups and in Maori/European encounters, in terms of the presentation of self and group during ceremonial performance, and as a form of ceremonial presentation itself made to distinguished guests.

In this chapter I focus on one particular ceremonial occasion, the ceremonial welcome extended to Prince George (the grandson of Queen Victoria) and Princess

[2] And in an increasing number of other social settings, such as at the opening of new buildings, gallery exhibitions, graduation ceremonies and academic conferences

[3] A detailed description is given by Monkhouse in 1769, in Beaglehole (ed) (1955: 564-587)

Mary, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York[4], at Rotorua, during their imperial tour of 1901-2. This vast occasion can be explored through the extensive media reportage it attracted – colonial accounts that, although inherently biased, may be scrutinised for muted traces of indigenous presence. Furthermore, the numerous presentations of ceremonial dress and regalia made between Maori hosts and their British royal guests may be similarly revealing of both the possibilities opened up by Maori engagements with modernity, and of the limitations imposed by prevailing imperial and colonial power relations.

In newspaper reportage of the event, rather than the hostility and intimidation experienced by European traders and missionaries earlier in the nineteenth century, the overall perception of the ceremonial welcome extended to receive the Duke and Duchess was one of 'picturesqueness', of 'mock displays of savagery' and of a 'uniquely interesting novelty'. Many reporters typically assumed people to be re-enacting "all that was most picturesque and enchanting in the lives of generations of their forefathers"[5], 'dressing up' so as to perform 'mock displays' of a near forgotten Maori past in a modern civilised present. In their descriptions, it would appear that nowhere were these changes more evident than in dress. It was, many reporters noted, to be regretted that Maori were to be seen everywhere "looking strangely out of place in the best European garb"[6].

As other authors have recently begun to argue[7], rather than regrettable I consider the variety of ways in which clothing was being adopted and adapted in the region suggests something far more complex may have been occurring than a straightforward obeisance of Christian beliefs and practices and abeyance of local ones. By providing uncovered peoples with means of covering their bodily surfaces, clothing enabled the inculcation and expression of Christian notions of bodily modesty, and hence of conversion (Thomas 1999c). Yet with the nineteenth century missionary endeavour to introduce clothing and inculcate notions of modesty came a risk that once introduced, people might invest too much significance in their

[4] Henceforth referred to as 'the Duke and Duchess'
[5] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901
[6] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901
[7] See, for Pacific example, various contributors to Colchester (ed) (2003) and Kuchler and Were (eds) (2005)

vestments, inverting the 'correct' relation between animate people and inanimate objects (Keane 2005).

They might instead become overly concerned with their outward appearance, entertaining immoral interest in superfluous luxury, in frivolous fashion and in materialist social distinctions that would threaten to displace a 'proper' moral concern with the depths of their human spiritual condition (Comaroff 1996; Spyer 1998). As Christian morality was anchored in a correct understanding of the materiality of things and the immateriality of persons, missionary endeavour, were it to succeed, would involve not only clothing converts, but also educating them away from animistic beliefs and 'idol worshipping' practices that mistakenly attribute life to the lifeless (Keane 2005: 5).

Yet these were missionary ideals, and whilst perhaps less likely to invest material things with animacy, many Europeans did invest dress with greater significance than the utilitarian, for example the nobility took surface decoration and the social distinctions it communicated very seriously. In the weeks preceding the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York, those reading the newspapers (in English and Maori) would have the opportunity to become familiarised with ostentatious regalia of their royal guests (figure 4.2). And, as thousands of Maori people from different regional descent groups made their way to Rotorua via new rail and road links for the planned Maori reception, this was not going to be a time for modest Christian appearance, but one in which a vast display of grandeur and effusive hospitality would be demonstrated.

Whilst similar scale movements of people across the country had been occurring through various novel political mobilisations (such as the Kotahitanga, the Maori parliament, and to attend land court hearings) the scale of movement of people to Rotorua for the reception was more than a substantial logistical achievement. It was politically salient, bringing together rival descent groups, some of them bearing considerable historical grievances[8]. As tangata whenua, the host people, the mana of Arawa descent groups was at stake and, if ceremonial proceedings and entertainments went well, stood to rise considerably over that of their rivals.

[8] For example, the Arawa were about to host Ngapuhi people from the north, who raided the region in 1823, and Ngai Terangi people occupying coastal territories disputed with the Arawa, between Tauranga and Maketu (as detailed in chapter two, sections 2.2 and 2.6, pages 72 and 89).

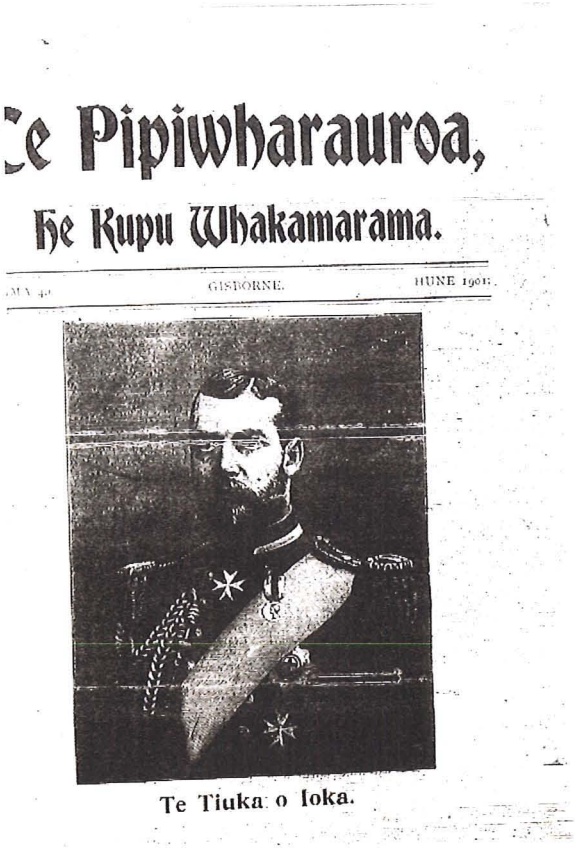
Te Pipiwharauroa,
He Kupu Whakamarama.
GISBORNE. JUNE 1901.
Te Tiuka o Ioka.

Figure 4.2 'Te Tiuka o Ioka (The Duke of York)'; 'Te Hoa o te Tiuka (The Wife of the Duke)'; 'A tatou Manuhiri (Our Guests)', The Duke of York is depicted in military fashion with a blue sash across the chest adorned with a medal of Queen Victoria (*Te Pipiwharauroa*, issue no. 40, June 1901, pp 1-3)

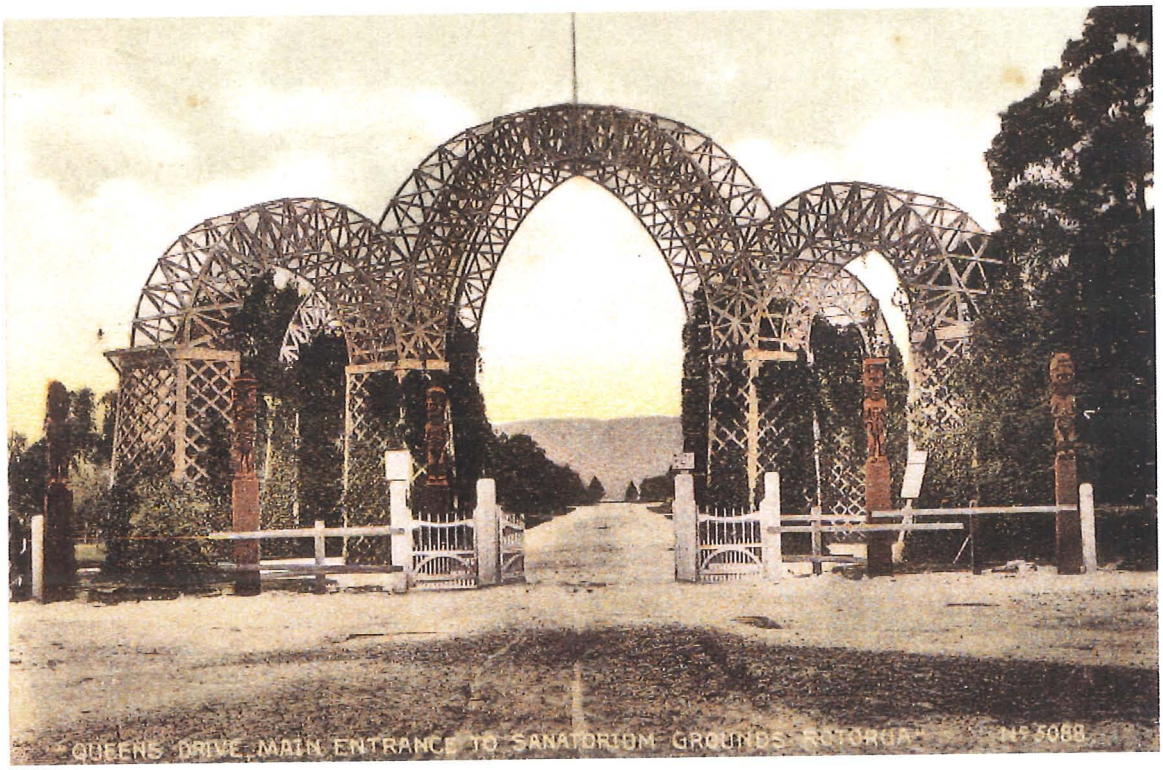
QUEENS DRIVE, MAIN ENTRANCE TO SANATORIUM GROUNDS, ROTORUA

Figure 4.3 Prince's Gate and Queen's Drive, the main entrance to the Government Sanatorium Gardens, Rotorua, c. 1905 (Postcard: author's collection)

4.3 Powhiri, kawe mate and thermal sightseeing

He whatitiri ki te rangi, ko te Arawa ki te whenua
As thunder in the sky, so is the Arawa on earth[9]

Owing to a general settler perception of Arawa peoples as politically 'friendly', but perhaps more importantly, to draw attention to the government's newly established spa resort town of Rotorua, it was decided by the colonial government that a great Maori reception would be held at Rotorua. In early March 1901, James Carroll/Timi Kara, the Native Minister, issued a request to all descent groups throughout the North and South Islands to come to Rotorua in June of that year and provide a ceremonial welcome for an anticipated British royal visit (Loughnan 1902: 62-63). On June 13, 1901, Prince George of Wales and Princess Mary – the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York – and their entourage arrived in Rotorua. The following day the royal party, with thousands of onlookers, made their way through an arch erected in their honour, Prince's Gate, and drove along Queen's Drive (figure 4.3) in the newly manicured government Sanatorium Gardens of Rotorua town. Here the Duchess opened the 'Duchess Baths', which the national tourist department hoped would be a highly popular attraction to the region (Loughnan 1902: 84).

At the request of Ngati Whakaue, the royal party then proceeded to Te Papa-I-Ouru marae, Ohinemutu, to the sound of the British national anthem played by an Arawa brass band (Loughnan 1902: 86), where two or three thousand people had gathered to greet them. Senior women elders, kai karanga, then performed the karanga, a welcome call to greet the manuhiri (visitors) and bring them onto the marae, their words peeling eerily through the air:

Haere mai	Welcome
E te kotuku rerenga tahi	The rare kotuku (white heron) of one flight
Te manuhiri tuarangi	The visitor from afar
Haere mai, haere mai!	Welcome, welcome![10]

[9] Ancient Arawa whakatauaki (proverb) spoken by people today when recalling the royal visit of 1901 as the haka (posture dances) performed on this day were of such great mana (ancestral force) and scale they shook the ground causing a small earthquake, a portentous sign indicative of the separation of the wairua from the physical frame upon death.

[10] This ancient karanga, noted by early European observers, continues to be performed today (a version is cited in Loughnan 1902: 80).

Karanga, always performed by women, provide a spiritual medium through which the many generations of the dead, the unborn and the living of the manuhiri are called forth to greet and come into contact with the many generations of the tangata whenua, the host people, across the tapu (sacred) space of the marae.

In front, facing the royal party as they approached the marae, crouched two rows of men several hundred strong, armed with taiaha and tewhatewha (long-handled weapons), wearing flax piupiu (kilts) and woven kakahu (cloaks) wrapped about their waists, with white toroa (albatross) feathers in their hair. Across from them at right angles stood forty young women, led by Kiri Matao ('the Duchess', host of the Duke of Edinburgh in 1870), wearing long white blouses and skirts, with flax piupiu wrapped about the waist and a blue sash across the shoulder, perhaps imitative of royal dress (see figure 4.4).

The women wore wreaths of greenery on their heads, a sign of mourning (Barlow 1991: 91), and carried green branchlets in their hands, which they swayed in rhythmic action as they performed the haka powhiri, a posture dance in which the actions of the performers hoist the oncoming party, likened to an ancestral canoe, onto the marae:

Toia Mai, te waka!	Pull to the shore, the canoe!
Ki te urunga, te waka!	To its resting place, the canoe!
Ki te moenga, te waka!	To its sleeping place, the canoe!
Ki te takotoranga i takoto ai	To the place where it is to lie
Te waka!	The canoe! [11]

As the party arrived in front of the ancestral house Tamatekapua, the men crouched at the front leapt up and burst into a thundering ngeri, a vigorous posture dance of defiance performed in perfect unison and with powerful conviction:

Ko te whakaariki!	It is a war party!
Ko te whakaariki!	It is a war party!
Tukua mai ki a piri,	Let them come forward,
Tukua a mai ki a tata,	Let them come closer,
Kia eke mai ki runga ki te paepae-poto	Let them reach and cross the threshold
a Houmaitawhiti!	of Houmaitawhiti![12]

[11] This ancient haka powhiri continues to be performed today when visiting parties arrive onto a marae, also recorded in Loughnan's account with a somewhat florid translation (Loughnan 1902: 79-80).

[12] *The New Zealand Herald*, June 15, 1901; *The Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901; Loughnan 1902: 86

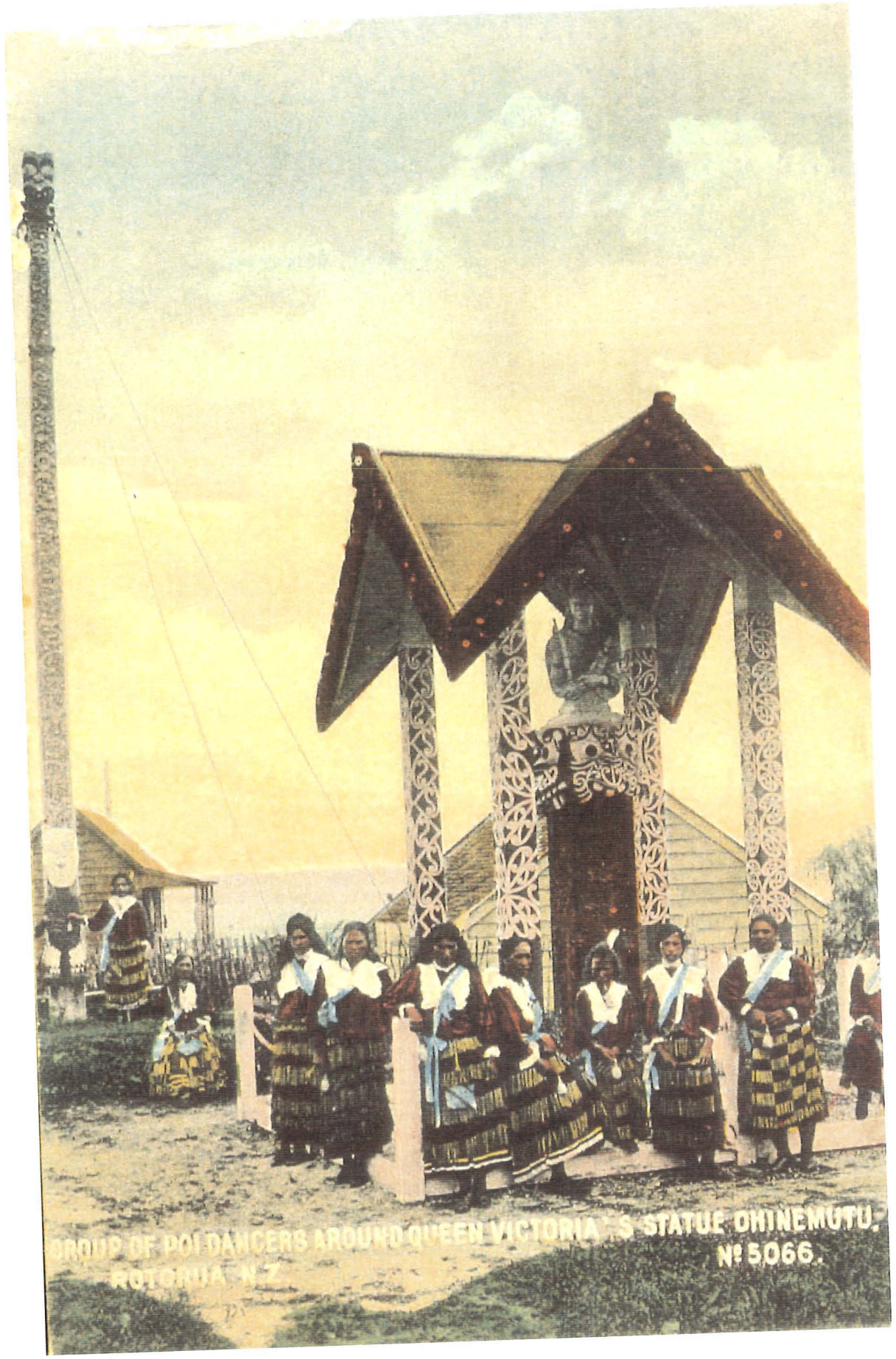

Figure 4.4 Poi dancers in blouses, skirts and piupiu, with a blue sash across the chest, similar to the fashion of British royalty, Ohinemutu, c. 1904 (Postcard: private collection)

This ancient ngeri (greatly abbreviated above), now known as the Arawa 'national anthem'[13], is attributed to the revered Arawa ancestor and great explorer Ihenga[14]. In full the ngeri portrays the advance of a war party upon the people of Houmaitawhiti, ancestors of the Arawa who lived at Rangiatea in Hawaiki, before their migration to Aotearoa (New Zealand) in the Arawa canoe. It tells of their preparation for this attack and predicts certain victory, leaving their attackers dangling in pieces from the stockades of the pa[15].

Mihimihi, or speeches of formal greeting followed through which elders negotiate the potentially dangerous threshold between the host group, the tangata whenua (descendants of the land) and their guests, the manuhiri, their ancestors and their unborn, brought forth from Te Po. Following these ritual negotiations, guests become incorporated into the host group for the duration of their stay (Salmond 1975: 137-151). Elders performing this liminal role are frequently adorned with feathers or feather cloaks evoking a bird-like stature believed to enable them to mediate, as birds do, between sky and earth and between the seen and unseen dimensions (Lander 2001: 8)[16].

Just as ancient oratory and chant recalled a deeper ancestral history embedded in the Arawa landscape, more recent relationships were evoked through the display of presentations made by the Duke and Duchess's family on previous occasions. Across the marae, between Tamatekapua meetinghouse and Lake Rotorua, stood a bust of Queen Victoria in a white blouse with a blue sash worn across the chest, in a fashion similar to the poi dancers (figure 4.4) (Loughnan 1902: 85-6). Adjacent to which stood a carved ancestral flagstaff named Houtaiki, which "bore a profusion of bunting, mostly inscribed with Maori devices and lettering"[17] including the silk union flag named 'Tuhourangi Te Arawa, 1870'. Both the flag and the bust were presents sent from Prince Alfred following his stay amongst the Arawa in 1870.

[13] This 'anthem' continues to be performed on marae and in other settings where groups meet and compete, such as at performing arts festivals, to tautoko (support) Arawa groups, and to challenge, intimidate or otherwise impress visiting parties.
[14] Ihenga is said to have composed this ngeri to commemorate the tragic drowning of his daughter, Hine-te-kakara, in Lake Rotorua, the occasion which caused the place to acquire the name Ohinemutu ('hine' meaning 'girl' and 'mutu', 'to end').
[15] I am grateful to Talei Roimata Morrison for this explanation.
[16] Salmond and Lander draw on late nineteenth century textual and oral sources, giving accounts of ceremonial customs that are consistent with this period.
[17] *The Weekly Press,* June 19, 1901

Beneath the bust were various reciprocal presentations, displayed upon woven cloaks (Loughnan 1902: 86). Te Rongokahira and Te Paerakau Haerehuka of Ngati Whakaue came forward to present a patu pounamu, an ancestral greenstone weapon named Tanekawa (figure 4.5)[18], the marriage gift of the Ngai Tahu people of the South Island to Te Rongokahira, a white-feathered tea cosy (figure 4.6) and a brown kiwi feather muffler (figure 4.7) (Loughnan 1902: 86-7)[19]. Further presentations were made by Pirimi Mataiawhea, on behalf of the Arawa, who acknowledged, "We are spreading these Maori garments before you and before the statue of her late Majesty the Queen. This is in accordance with the Maori custom of laying offerings in memory of those who are departed, as a token of our love"[20].

Then Te Pokiha Taranui (Major Fox) spoke (figure 4.8), addressing the Duke as taku mokopuna, my grandson. In accordance with customary etiquette he offered his claymore sword, presented to him on behalf of Queen Victoria, back to her grandson, the Duke of York. The Duke held the sword momentarily and then returned it to Te Pokiha, expressing his wish that he retain it (Stafford 1988: 14). Te Pokiha then presented the Duke with a carved tokipoutangata, an ornately carved adze ornamented with fibre and feathers (figure 4.9)[21], a weapon used ceremonially to add flourishing gesture to the delivery of oratory (Best 1912: 120-121). The Duke then thanked Te Pokiha assuring him the gift would always be treasured[22]. He carried

[18] It is possible that the patu illustrated in figure 4.4 is Tanekawa, presented to the Duchess of York on Te Papa I Ouru marae, on June 14th 1901, by Te Rongokahira. There are three other patu pounamu acquired during the 1901 visit belonging to the royal family that are presently on loan to the British Museum and the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum (catalogue numbers TRH 5, 6 and 8). These may also be Tanekawa, but it is less likely as these appear to have been made more recently, in the late nineteenth century.

[19] *The Weekly Press* June 1901: 60-61; Makereti (1905:82). I have been unable to locate the brown kiwi muffler in royal loans to the British Museum and the British Empire Museum (the latter formerly loaned to the Commonwealth/Imperial Institute), however Pendergrast illustrates a similar item (1984: 227, figure 211).

[20] Pirimi Mataiawhea cited in the *Auckland Weekly News*, June 19 & 21, 1901; and with slight variation in Loughnan 1902: 87, translation by Gilbert Mair.

[21] Belonging to the Duke and Duchess of York, the tokipoutangata illustrated in figure 4.8 was acquired during their visit to Rotorua in June 1901, and was probably presented to them in Ohinemutu on June 14, 1901, by Te Pokiha Taranui of Ngati Pikiao. This and other presentations received during the visit were placed on loan to the British Museum in 1902.

[22] Diary of Prince George, Duke of York, June 14, 1901, pp 52-54 (RA GV/GVD: 1901, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle); *The Weekly News,* June 21, 1901

Figure 4.5 Patu Pounamu, presented at Rotorua in 1901, and placed on loan to the Imperial Institute in 1902 by the Duke and Duchess of York (later King George V and Queen Mary), TRH 9, Length 32cm (British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, Bristol)

Figure 4.6 White Tea Cosy, woven from fine muka, covered with white feathers and lined with red satin. Presented by Te Rongokahira and Te Paerakau Haerehuka to the Duchess of York at Ohinemutu on June 15th, 1901, and placed on loan by Duke and Duchess to the British Museum in 1902, BM Ethno. 881.Oc.1401, Width 26cm

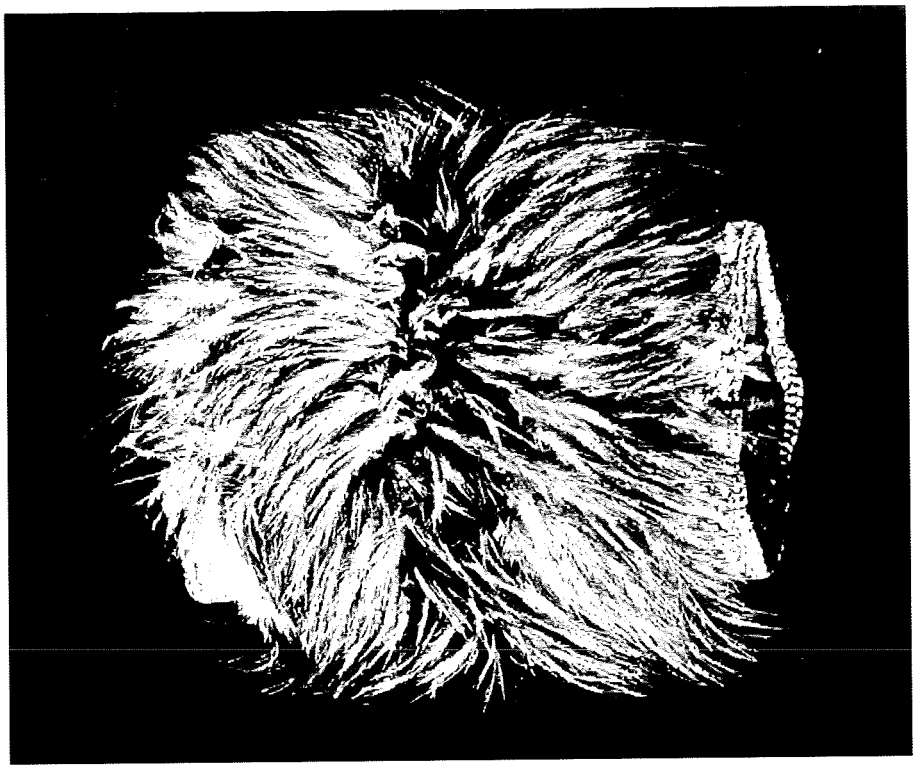

Figure 4.7 Kiwi feather muff woven from muka and lined with cloth, c. 1900, 13cm x 25cm, Waikato Museum (Photograph from Pendergrast 1984: 227, fig. 211)

Figure 4.8 Te Pokiha Taranui (Major Fox) and his wife, Rangipawa, at Kawatapuarangi ancestral house, Maketu, c. 1901 (Photograph: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, B14243)

Figure 4.9 Tokipoutangata (ceremonial adze) probably presented to Duke and Duchess of York at Ohinemutu, June 14, 1901, by Te Pokiha Taranui of Ngati Pikiao, with carved wooden handle, pounamu (nephrite) blade lashed with flax and cotton fibre, and decorated with red feathers and white goat hair, Length 39cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, TRH 20)

the tokipoutangata throughout the remainder of his stay in Rotorua, an act that was said to have pleased his hosts immensely (Loughnan 1902: 87).

In his personal diary, the Duke noted how Te Pokiha had shown them "the bust of the Queen which Uncle Alfred had sent him and the flag, also given by him"[23]. It appears significant that as new presentations were being made, attention was drawn to prior presentations made by the Duke's senior family members, his Uncle and Grandmother. These actions seem to posit a direct relationship of equivalence between sword and tokipoutangata and between bust, flag and the reciprocated Maori garments and valuables laid out beneath them. More generally, the ceremonial proceedings suggest broader equivalences between Maori and imperial ceremonial regalia and rituals of arrival (for example, between ngeri and anthem) and between senior Arawa and British lineages, relationships that are being performed and materially embodied and through ceremonial visits and presentations made between descending generations of these lineages.

Displaying ceremonial regalia such as the flag and the bust, things directly associated with Queen Victoria, may also have provided a material means through which her direct physical presence could be brought onto the marae in the manner of a kawe mate ceremony (carrying the dead). When people of senior lineage with connections to many descent groups pass away, relatives who could not attend the tangihanga (funerary ceremony) may mourn the deceased at a later date on their own marae, the presence of the deceased being 'carried' onto the marae by relatives who bring objects associated with them (Barlow 1991). Formerly these included preserved heads and exhumed bones, along with woven garments, and from the late nineteenth century, incorporated portrait photographs and garments (Oppenheim 1973).

Following the formal presentations a tangi apakura (lament) was performed in mourning of the recently deceased. Performance of tangi (weeping) in remembrance of the dead could be both a heartfelt outpouring of grief or a polite performance to demonstrate one's respect for the dead because, whether one was aggrieved or not, the display of emotion was rigorously required of all those of senior

[23] Diary of Prince George, Duke of York, June 14, 1901 (*Ibid*)

lineage[24]. For example, in her field notes Makereti recorded, with some amusement, tangi performed by a group of friends returning to Kaikohi, Waimate, after an absence of six months:

> They were all busily engaged in the visual routine of crying when two of the women of the village suddenly at a signal one from the other, dried up their tears, closed the sluices of their affection, and very innocently said to the assembly; we have not finished crying yet, we will go and put food in the oven, cook it and make the baskets for it, and then we will come and finish crying. Perhaps we shall not have done when the food is ready, and if not, we can cry again at night[25].

With this proscribed etiquette in mind, the presumption of the author of the official colonial account that a subservient Arawa people were overcome with grief by the passing of their great imperial sovereign becomes questionable (Loughnan 1902: 87). Perhaps the grief demonstrated on this occasion for the recent death of Queen Victoria indicates compliance with the formal etiquette required of those of senior Arawa lineage. This respectful demonstration may also have combined some expression of personal grief for the loss of Arawa soldiers in the 'Boer War' of 1899-1900, or for any number of the hapu who may have passed away recently.

The royal party then travelled to Whakarewarewa, suggesting its rise in prominence as a tourist resort. Appointed as royal hosts by T E Donne of the government tourist department, Guides Sophia and Makereti greeted the royal carriage, and showed the Duke and Duchess into Nelson's recently opened carved house, Rauru (Makereti 1905: 82). In the village itself, they were received by the karanga of local women elders of Tuhourangi and Ngati Wahiao and welcomed by prominent leaders, including Keepa Te Rangipuawhe and Mita Taupopoki. Taking a tour through the Whakarewarewa thermal valley (recently acquired by the colonial government), the Duchess was shown around by a now elderly Guide Sophia (figure 4.10), and the Duke by a young and beautiful successor, Guide Maggie (figure 4.11). As their guides revealed to them aspects of ancestral history embedded in the landscape (Makereti 1905), they were accompanied by a Mr Clark, government-appointed 'inspector' of the valley and geyser plateau who, normally employed to implement a government ban upon practices destructive to thermal features such as

[24] "Tangimate: Lament for the Dead", Box 4, Section P, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum
[25] *Ibid.*

Figure 4.10 Te Paea Taiawhiao (Hinerangi), Guide Sophia, guide to Princess Mary, Duchess of Cornwall and York, Whakarewarewa, 1901 (Photograph: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, B.1982)

Figure 4.11 "Maggie Papakura, the famous Maori Guide". Makereti/Margaret Thom, Guide Maggie Papakura, wearing the ceremonial dress in which she guided Prince George, Duke of Cornwall and York, through Whakarewarewa in 1901, launching her career as a famous guide (Postcard: private collection)

soaping the geysers, was today responsible for soaping the Wairoa geyser into action (figure 4.12)[26].

Walking back through Whakarewarewa kainga the royal party were shown how villagers cook their meals in boiling pools[27], the Duke noting that certain ones were used for domestic activities such as laundry washing and others for bathing[28]. On the recently built government bridge over the Puarenga stream they were greatly amused by 'penny divers' jumping into the river for coins[29]. Here they were met by Guide Maggie's sister, Guide Bella (figure 4.13), who led a group of poi dancers dressed in red and orange blouses and skirts with piupiu wrapped around the waist (figure 4.14)[30]. As a parting gesture, the royal guests were presented with huia feathers as they were on other occasions during the day (Makereti 1905: 82; Loughnan 1902: 93) (figure 4.15)[31]. In return the Duke and Duchess expressed their gratitude to their guides, presenting them with brooches, Guide Maggie recalling later, "They gave me a beautiful brooch with their initials and the Crown above it and it is needless to say how I value it" (Makereti 1905: 83).

Having received the royal party through powhiri ceremonies conducted on Te Papa-I-Ouru marae, and on a smaller scale at Whakarewarewa, the status of Te Arawa as the tangata whenua or host group was acknowledged, and Ngati Whakaue had been particularly honoured. The remainder of the ceremonial reception at Rotorua was filled with grand displays of haka and poi dance, chant and song performed by descent groups from other regions of the country, and it is to a detailed description of these ceremonial performances that I turn to next.

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[26] *Auckland Weekly News,* June 21, 1901
[27] *Auckland Weekly News,* June 19, 1901
[28] Diary of Prince George, Duke of York, June 14, 1901, pp 52-54 (RA GV/GVD: 1901, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle)
[29] Diary of Prince George, Duke of York, June 14, 1901 *(Ibid)*
[30] *The Weekly Press,* June 19, 1901
[31] The Duke and Duchess received numerous huia feathers during the Maori reception, including this entire huia tail. Whilst these feathers may have been presented at Whakarewarewa, they may also have been received at Ohinemutu earlier in the day, or later during haka and poi demonstrations in Arawa Park, Rotorua.

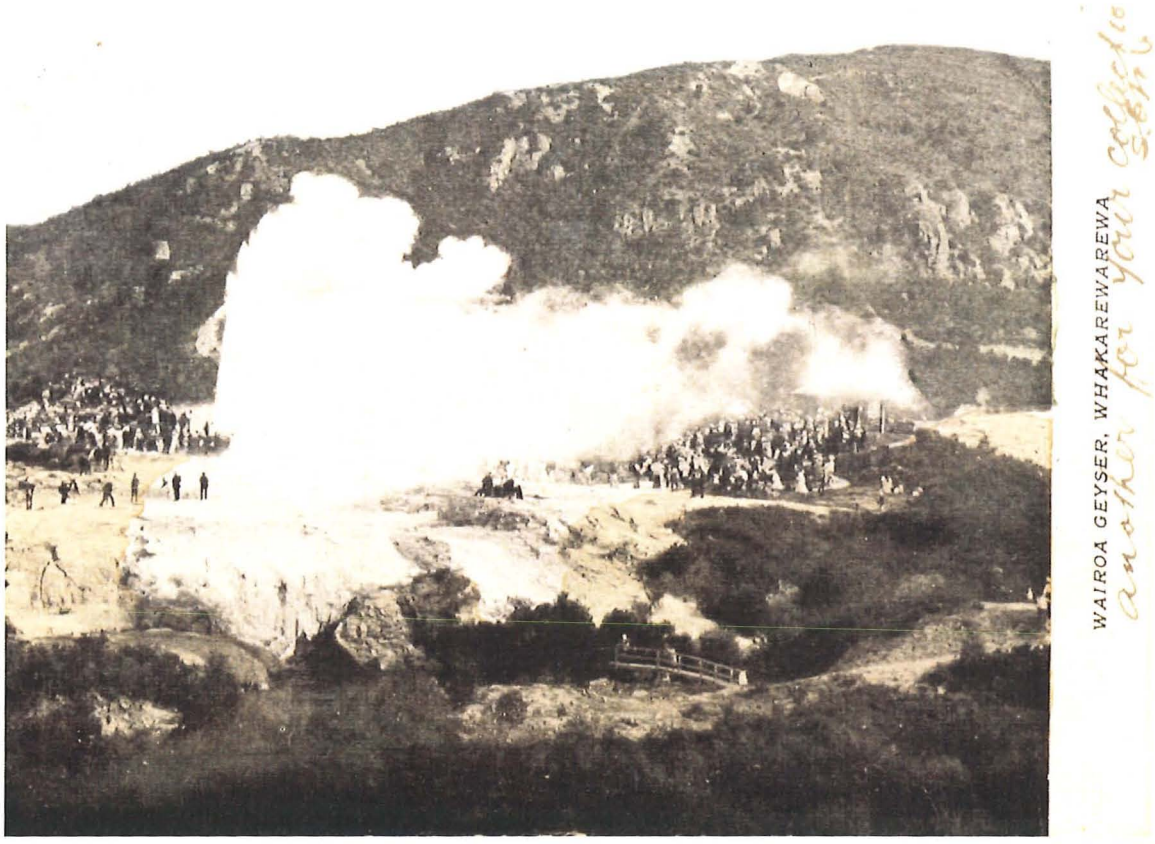

Figure 4.12 Postcard of Wairoa Geyser in action, Whakarewarewa thermal valley, possibly taken during the royal visit of June 1901 (Postcard: author's collection)

Figure 4.13 Studio portrait of Guide Bella Papakura (Isabella Wiari nee Thom), expert haka and poi exponent, wearing a kiwi feather cloak, large hei tiki neck pendant, hui feathers and holding raupo poi (bulrush balls suspended from flax cords) (Photograph: Makereti Papakura Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum, B43.A.68)

Figure 4.14 A group of poi dancers of Whakarewarewa, Rauru house, Whakarewarewa, c. 1903, wearing long-sleeved blouses and skirts, with piupiu wrapped around the waist, feathers in the hair, and holding raupo poi, their appearance similar to the group greeting the royal party in 1901 (Postcard: author's collection)

Figure 4.15 Huia feathers received by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York during their visit to Rotorua in 1901, and placed on loan to the Imperial Institute in 1902, Length 22cm (British Empire and Commonwealth Museum Collection)

4.4 Ceremonial performances and dress

> The Maoris gathered in thousands (4, I believe) in our honour...George and I had to wear mats over our shoulders & carried greenstone ornaments in our hands & small feathers in our hats as a sign of great rank[32]

Around eight thousand people, including spectators, gathered at Arawa Park, Rotorua, on June 14 and 15, 1901. Some four to five thousand Maori people had arrived to partake in the ceremonial welcome extended to the Duke and Duchess, around two thousand of whom were to perform haka (posture dance), poi dance, waiata (songs), karakia (chants) and tangi (laments) (Loughnan 1902: 84).

As the royal and ministerial party took to their stand, the Duke noted in his diary that he and the Duchess were immediately redressed for the occasion[33]. Already carrying tokipoutangata and patu pounamu presented at Ohinemutu[34], Heni Materoa (Mrs Carroll) added an ancestral hei tiki (nephrite ornament) to the Duchess's neck, which belonged to Arini Te Nahu's (Mrs Donnelly) Ngati Kahungunu people for generations[35]. Airini Te Nahu (Mrs Eilleen Donnelly) and Wikitoria Tautoko (Mrs Victoria Kemp) redressed the Duchess in a kiwi feather cloak (figure 4.16), and placed huia and toroa feathers in her toque. At the same time, Heni Materoa (Mrs Carroll) redressed the Duke in a kuri (dog-skin) cloak with decorative woven taniko borders and an upstanding taniko collar (figure 4.17)[36] and added toroa feathers to the huia in his hat.

When many hapu gathered for large hui it was customary for competitive performances to take place between the different visiting hapu and the host group[37]

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[32] Letter from Princess Mary, Duchess of York, to her Aunt Augusta, Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, 17 June 1901, (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, RA GV/CC 22/71)

[33] Diary of Prince George, Duke of York, June 15, 1901, pp 54-55 (RA GV/GVD: 1901, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle)

[34] Special Correspondent to *The Weekly Press*, Christchurch, June 19, 1901; *Press Association Telegram*, Auckland, June 16, 1901; *The Weekly Press,* June 19, 1901; *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21 1901

[35] Special Correspondent to *The Weekly Press*, Christchurch, June 19, 1901

[36] Loughnan described the taniko and kuri skin kaitaka that the Duke was dressed in as having a taniko collar "upstanding in the military fashion" (1902: 124). A cloak matching this unusual description in the Royal Loan Collection, acquired by the Duke and Duchess during their tour of New Zealand and deposited by them in the British Museum in 1902, is illustrated in figure 4.16.

[37] 'Games and Dances', Box P, Section 4, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum

Figure 4.16 Kahu Kiwi (kiwi feather cloak) with a lower trim of Tui feathers, presented to the Duchess of York on the occasion of the Maori reception, Rotorua, June 1901, and possibly worn by her during the ceremonial presentations, 85cm x 127cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, BMEthno.Q95.Oc.4, QRL1)

Figure 4.17 Kaitaka, cloak woven from finely processed muka (flax), with three taniko borders, two additional taniko flaps on the sides, and an up-standing taniko collar, with long strips of kuri (skin from the long-haired native dog, the kuri, now extinct) 78cm x 116cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, BMEthno.Q95.Oc.8, QRL 5)

and this day promised a great competition. As each descent group took their position in the park, they marked their places with "distinguishing flags", which one reporter found bore "very queer designs"[38]. These designs were the names of founding ancestors, sewn onto union flags and ensigns in large, white lettering[39], including a New Zealand Ensign embellished with the name "Ko Parua", a founding ancestor of a hapu of Ngati Pikiao, Te Arawa; a New Zealand Ensign embellished with a crescent and star, named "Porourangi", a founding ancestor of Ngati Porou and East Coast descent groups; and a union flag named "Tamateatutahi", founding ancestor of Ngati Tamateatutahi, a hapu of Ngati Whakaue.

Being on their home ground, many Arawa hapu were present in full adding to their visibility and volume. The men performed haka wearing piupiu and woven cloaks wrapped around their waists, and bore black sashes across their chests as a sign of mourning (Loughnan 1902: 111) (figure 4.18). Te Pokiha Taranui and his wife Rangipawa stood in front, swinging their claymore sword and ancestral taiaha, whilst other senior women took to the side of the ranks, stirring up the column as they performed to their utmost,

Koia ano, koia ano!	Yes indeed, yes indeed!
Koia ano he peruperu!	This is a battle dance!
Ina hoki te taiaroa	Behold this victor-weapon
I whakatirohia mai nei ki te whana	And see this mighty blow
A ha!	A ha!
Pare rewha, pare rewha!	And the dead strewn on the battlefield![40]

As the powerful column burst into action with loud cries, fierce faces, rolling eyes, lolling tongues and striking precision of unitary movement, every performer leapt up high from their right with their taiaha raised over their left shoulder, and came to the ground with one synchronised thud, landing to the left (Loughnan 1902: 111).

Koia Ano is an old Arawa composition, performed on many historical occasions, for example when a jubilant Arawa celebrated their defeat of Ngai Terangi at Te Tumu on the east coast in the mid nineteenth century (Stafford 1967: 240). The performance of Koi Ano in 1901 would recall this victory, delivering a challenge to the mana of Ngai Terangi, as had been done during the reception of Prince Alfred in 1870 (see section 2.6, page 89). In this way present contests were

[38] *New Zealand Herald,* June 15 and 16, 1901; *Auckland Weekly News* June 21, 1901
[39] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901; Loughnan 1902: 106
[40] The words are from Apirana Ngata in Loughnan 1902: 369; translation from Stafford 1967: 240

Figure 4.18 Haka of Te Arawa, on the occasion of the Duke and Duchess of York s visit to Rotorua, June 1901. In front leading them are the Te Pokiha Taranui (left) with taiaha, and Rangipawa (centre) with the sword received from Queen Victoria (Photograph from Loughnan 1902: 110)

Figure 4.19 Te Heuheu, rangatira of Tuwharetoa, leading a haka peruperu. He is dressed in a kiwi and taniko cloak wrapped about the waist, with a taniko sash, huia feathers in his hair and holding an ancestral mere, in combination with European-style jumper and shoes (Photograph from Loughnan 1901: 119)

connected to deeper rivalries and were expressive of a complex politics of difference that extended well beyond the relatively recent history of political involvement with Queen Victoria, her family, the British Empire and European settlers in general.

In the many performances of posture dance that followed, several of the men's performing groups were described admiringly by reporters as dressed "in the sleek uniform of nature"[41]. Although their comments imply male nudity, this appears to be a nostalgic imagining of a pre-European condition, as typically on this day men wore black shorts or other similar undergarments, with either flax piupiu, woven cloaks or cotton aprons wrapped around their waists (Loughnan 1902: 99).

Where reporters admired Ngati Tuwharetoa for their semi-nude dress, of "waist mat, white feather, and uniform of natural buff" (Loughnan 1902: 118), they avoided mention of the dress of their great leader, Te Heuheu, who wore a kiwi feather cloak wrapped about the waist, a woven taniko sash across the chest combined with a European-style jumper and shoes (figure 4.19). Rather then the semi-naked 'natural buff' these typically nostalgic accounts would suggest, Te Heuheu's dress is far more akin to that of the Duke, also dressed in a combination of European and Maori made garments. Similarly, where men's performing groups donned European-style garments, such as the white vests, purple sashes and black waist aprons worn by the men of Ngati Porou (figure 4.20), there lack of semi-nudity was lamented[42]. This admiration of men's semi-nudity expressed in the press exaggerates the difference in appearance between Maori and European. This perhaps reveals an anxiety caused by tension between the mission to civilise and dress colonial subjects and a need to maintain a sense of racial difference at a time when dress-based distinctions appeared to be collapsing.

Maori women's experiences of, and responses to, Christian and Victorian expectations of female bodily modesty and femininity comprise a different situation altogether. Reporters describe, with the implication of absurdity, the energetic bodily gestures and mannerisms performed by women as they led men's haka dances:

> Mrs Fox [Rangipawa]...waved a sheathed sword over her head and danced vigorously in her enthusiasm to welcome the royal visitors, while several other Maori women got places in front of the tribesmen, and cut most ludicrous

[41] *Press Association Telegram*, Rotorua, June 13, 1901
[42] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901; Loughnan 1902: 99; *Press Association Telegram*, Rotorua, June 13, 1901

> figures, rolling their eyeballs widely and posing extravagantly till all the methods of expressing a welcome known to the Maori mind were completely played out[43].

The facial contortions and bodily gestures that high-ranking women perform to raise posture dance to a frenzied level did not accord with European notions of demure and fragile femininity. Hence, when the Arawa women performers appeared, dressed as before in white blouses and skirts and a blue sash across the chest, with colourful piupiu dashed with black and white feathers wrapped about the waist[44] (figure 4.21), their venerable leader, Kiri Matao, highly regarded among her people as an expert exponent of haka and poi, was described in the press as "a comical lady of rotund figure, whose queer contortions were most laughable"[45].

Facial contortions such as pukana, in which the mouth is upturned and the eyeballs are rolled down and side to side with incredible dexterity, and other bodily gestures performed by women are greatly admired by Maori. Considered to be powerful and attractive, they evoke a different kind of womanliness, in which strength and determination rather than frailty were admired, as Makereti pointed out, "Maori women often accompanied their lords to war and could fight as well as men if need be"[46].

Clearly the semi-nudity and vigorous haka that was so admired in men's performances was not encouraged amongst women. In response to these differential expectations of male and female bodily modesty, Maori women's adoption of introduced clothing in ceremonial dress differs substantially to men's. Ceremonial dress for women typically comprised long-sleeved, high-necked blouses and ankle-length skirts, with a piupiu or some other garment wrapped about the waist, such as the black apron worn by Ngati Porou women[47] (see figure 4.20).

As well as vigorously defiant haka, women also performed more sedate, fluid and melodic poi dances[48]. In contrast to the absurdity implied by the press when observing women partake in haka, their accounts of poi dances abound with

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[43] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901; *The Weekly Press*, Christchurch, June 19, 1901
[44] *Press Association Telegram*, Auckland, June 16, 1901; *The Weekly Press*, June 19, 1901
[45] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901
[46] "Love songs or Pao and Rurerure", Box 4, Section R, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum
[47] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901; Loughnan 1902: 99; *Press Association Telegram*, Rotorua, June 13, 1901
[48] In poi dance a small poi (ball) made from raupo (bulrush) and suspended from a flax cord is swung rhythmically and tapped on various parts of the body for percussive effect.

Figure 4.20 Ngati Porou Haka, performed on the occasion of the Duke and Duchess of York's visit to Rotorua, June 1901. Note the striking uniformity of movement, and the two women at the left front leading the haka ranks, wearing white skirts and blouses with long black aprons wrapped around the waist (Photograph from Loughnan 1902: 120)

Figure 4.21 Poi of the Arawa women, wearing hukarere (snow white) blouses and skirts, with a blue sash across the chest, colourful piupiu wrapped around the waist, and white shoes, a union flag sunk into the ground to their right. Te Pokiha Taranui and Rangipawa are seated in front. Performed on the occasion of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York, Rotorua, June 1901 (Photograph from Loughnan 1902: 114)

flattering compliments of the grace, beauty and prettiness of their performances[49]. A performance most admired by reporters was that given by Ngati Raukawa women, who wore a striking colour coded uniform: one half of the group danced in brilliant red blouses and skirts, with piupiu wrapped around their waists, whilst the other half wore white blouses and skirts with piupiu, and a red sash across the chest.

In performing their poi dance, they stood in an alternate colour arrangement that emphasised an ingenious two-by-two and four-by-four choreography (figure 4.22). As they spun, twirled and beat their poi balls with amazing rapidity, at periodic intervals the ranks, forming two rows standing slightly apart, would wheel in sections to the right forming groups of four:

> Then one realised in a flash the ingenuity of the colour arrangement. As the poi faced the stand two deep, white alternated with scarlet; as they formed fours, the white and scarlet were grouped in sections apart; and on returning to line the two colours came together again with beautiful effect[50].

Each choreographic movement began with an address in dedication of some personage, the first movement was "To the memory of Queen Victoria", the next "To Niahutu", another "To the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall", and so on[51]. As the women leading the dance called each address, the dancers executed the change of movement with wonderful precision[52].

Whilst missionaries encouraged the uptake of clothing that would conceal as much of the body's surface as possible – hence limiting physical movement and the ability to perform, inculcating instead a preferred bodily habitus expressive of physical modesty and reserve – in terms of the choreography of their dance, the colour of their clothes has been creatively deployed to visualise the perfect synchrony of rank formation and transformation. Synchrony, a quality noted by early European observers[53], being greatly admired in Maori ceremonial performance to this day.

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[49] For example, by a Special Correspondent to *The Weekly Press*, Christchurch, June 19, 1901
[50] Loughnan (1902: 94); *The Weekly Press,* Christchurch, June 19, 1901
[51] *Press Association Telegram*, Rotorua, June 13, 1901
[52] *New Zealand Herald*, June 15 & 16, 1901; *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901
[53] As was described by Monkhouse in 1769 (Beaglehole ed 1955: 569); by Bidwill (1841); and depicted by Merrett in c. 1840 (figure 2.2), and described and depicted by Thomas (1859: 127, and frontispiece)

Figure 4.22 Ngati Raukawa poi dancers executing a two-by-two into fours transition, emphasised by their alternate red and white blouses and skirts, in a poi dance performed on the occasion of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York, Rotorua, June 1901 (Photograph from Loughnan 1902: 96)

Figure 4.23 Ngai Terangi women poi dancers performing at the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York's reception, Arawa Park, June 1901, dressed in European skirts and blouses embellished with feathers and woven waistbands. Their heads are adorned with toroa (albatross) feathers and their cheeks with takou (red ochre) (Photograph: Rotorua Museum)

Interest has been expressed in red garments since the earliest exchanges of clothing occurred with early European voyagers to the Pacific[54], and subsequently in exchanges with European sealers, whalers and traders (Angas 1847: plate 13), suggesting a red colour scheme conveys a deeper significance. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and probably before, kura denoted both redness and something highly valued, such as red feathers and red ochre, or a person or thing that is tapu (sacred) and hence set apart (Williams 1917: 183-4). A term that was also used around this time, te kura-takahi-puni, expresses great admiration for a powerful group of warriors moving simultaneously, bringing together unity and precision with redness and power through the concept of kura (Williams 1917: 183-4).

Ngai Terangi women performed a poi dance, dressed in white blouses and skirts "richly ornamented with feathers...from the neck of the blouse to the hem of the skirt"[55], which quivered as they danced evoking a bird-like stature. Additionally, they wore woven flax waistbands tied about the waist, white toroa feathers in their hair and painted their cheeks with takou (red ochre) (figure 4.23) (Loughnan 1902: 95-6). Nineteenth and twentieth century Maori oral sources record that when feathers are bound to inanimate things they become imbued with a life force or hau, transferred via the mediating capacity of bird feathers (Lander 2001: 7, citing Ngata and Te Hurinui 1980: 268-9). By sewing feathers onto the surface of European clothing, these dancers may have sought to invoke the powerful metaphysical forces of mana (ancestral presence and influence) and tapu (potent sacredness, set apart) redolent in feathers (Lander 2001: 8), transforming mere clothing into a powerful and protective metaphysically animated skin, in a manner akin to the of binding feathers onto ancestral carvings, or weaving them into cloaks.

Furthermore, as the mana evoked by objects and performances can elicit states of ihi, a powerful force or excitement that evokes wehi, fear and awe, and wana, a charged state characterised by a shivering sensation and body hair standing on end (Marsden 1977: 144-8, Kruger 1980, McLean 1996: 201) in beholders, transformation into such states would be visibly enhanced by the quivering motion of feathers attached to the body, or in this case to European clothing, effectively

[54] Monkhouse notes a Maori fisherman request a red cape from Captain Cook, cited in Beaglehole (1955: 566); Parkinson also notes a preference for red, cited in Joppien and Smith (1985: 198).
[55] *New Zealand Herald*, June 15 and 16, 1901; *Auckland Weekly News,* June 21, 1901

augmenting the awe-inspiring impact of the performance. And, just as the embellishment of persons, carvings, woven cloaks and new forms of clothing with feathers would appear to bear metaphysical substance and effect, a design preference noted by a reporter who found "The 'dernier cri' in Maori fashion" to be "a cotton material with huia feathers printed on it. The background...of the brightest tints and the pattern large"[56], suggests that these understandings might also translate into industrially produced patterned fabrics.

In the ceremonial performances displayed for the Duke and Duchess of York described above, women's adoption of European skirts and blouses that covered the body from the neck down to the wrists and ankles, suitably accommodated introduced notions of Christian modesty in the changed historical circumstances of the turn of the twentieth century. However colour selections, surface embellishments and the over-wrapping of waist garments, such as piupiu, a woven kakahu or black cloth aprons, form aspects of dress superfluous to the attainment of a state of Christian modesty (as people were already fully clothed in this sense). As such they suggest something more than Christian modesty is enabled through dress.

The practice of waist wrapping with maro (girdles) has a deep history in the Pacific, as noted, described and depicted by late eighteenth century European voyagers[57]. Similarly, nineteenth century Maori oral sources describe maro kapua, aprons worn by women of high rank. These were typically embellished with awe, attachments made from valued materials such as white albatross feathers or long tufts of dog hair (Ngata and Te Hurinui 1970: 37; Lander 2001: 17). Awe also means strength, power and influence (Williams 1917: 28), suggesting these surface attachments might strengthen maro and thereby empower their wearers.

In her ethnography of life in the Rotorua region around the turn of the 20th century, Makereti stated that if a woman were to unwittingly reveal her pubic area to a stranger this could incur an insult of such extreme shame as to cause the woman to take her own life (Makereti 1938: 124-5). Whilst Makereti would no doubt have understood Christian notions of bodily exposure and shame what I understand her to be referring to here is a condition of whakama, of a shyness or shame caused by

[56] *Press Association Telegram,* Rotorua, June 13, 1901

[57] Monkhouse gives a detailed description of Maori garments in 1769, during the voyage of the *Endeavour* (Beaglehole 1955: 564-587).

accidental exposure that wrapping about the waist prevents. As a concealing device, waist wrappings also enable their reverse – the power to reveal. Oral history recalls, for example, a late nineteenth century incident in which Mita Taupopoki, a senior Arawa leader, rebuked Mihi Kotukutuku for speaking on the marae. Mihi Kotukutuku, a senior woman elder from the East Coast region, responded to his challenge to her right to speak by ritually performing whakapohane, in which she flipped up her skirt in a deliberate act of exposure. Following this gesture of utmost contempt she was not challenged again (Salmond 1975: 150-51)[3].

Wrappings worn about the waist continue to be important today. In fact they enable women to partake in ceremonial activities. Women wearing European-style trousers at a formal hui would most likely remain seated and not join in the karanga and haka powhiri, in which senior women perform the opening of a spiritual pathway between Te Ao and Te Po, bringing forth the ancestors and unborn of the visitors and calling them onto the marae. In this situation, a woman might quickly wrap something at hand around her waist to improvise the appropriate ceremonial attire, such as a shawl, a blanket or even a jacket. This demonstrates that it is waist wrapping that enables ritual efficacy, whether this is achieved with an item of European style cloth or clothing is incidental, suggesting notions of wrapping and metaphysical capacity translate across textile forms.

In these respects the accommodation of European clothing, despite its physically enclosing design (effectively a series of compartments – one for each leg, arm, foot, hand etc), was perhaps more like adopting a second skin, a wrapping which provided a surface to which various colours, designs and attachments could be applied. The attractiveness of these surface embellishments perhaps resides in their potential to strengthen, protect and empower the person and the group physically, psychologically and metaphysically. It may reside in their capacity to act as vehicles for ancestral and divine forces that transform persons and things from dormant into

[3] In the late nineteenth and twentieth century Te Arawa protocol forbids women from speaking on the marae, whereas in the East Coast area women may speak freely on their marae. The dispute arising between Mita Taupopoki and Mihi Kotukutuku formed a contest of mana as each asserted their ancestral authority and expressed their customary rights. East Coast men performed a similar gesture to the crew of the *Endeavour* in 1769. Although the ship's crewmembers are likely to have had little or no understanding of local cultural practices at the time, Monkhouse seems to have intuitively got the point (Beaglehole 1955: 575-6).

spiritually charged states, demonstrating the significance of clothing as an animated surface mediating relations between the seen and the unseen, the physical and metaphysical, Te Ao and Te Po, heaven and earth.

By bringing ancestral spirits into the world to surround and protect the body and impress others, cloth and clothing appear to take on an active role akin to other bodily wrappings of importance in the Pacific, such as tattooed skin (Gell 1993), woven garments (Weiner 1992) and other 'people containers' such as ancestral gateways, meetinghouses and war canoes (Lander 2001), to which designs, feathers and red ochre are applied. This is to extend Gell's notion of 'wrapping in images' (1993), based on an extensive analysis of bodily tattooing or marking across the Pacific, to other the kinds of other kinds of 'wrappings' that might contain, envelope, carry or otherwise protect people, operating in the turn of twentieth century Pacific, a period in which European colonial settlers, imperial visitors and their ideas, practices and objects were being rapidly accommodated.

This extends Gell's argument considerably, not only because he did not venture into analysis of exchanges between Europeans and Pacific islanders, but also because he posited that tattooing formed a more permanent defence of the skin than clothing as it is inserted into the body rather than merely covering its surface (Gell 1993: 38-9). In so doing he elevated inner body over outer surface, effectively prioritising persons over things and individuals over groups, subsuming his analysis to some of the western ontological assumptions he sought to transcend. Yet cloaks, ornaments, weapons, tattoo designs, claymore swords and union flags both wrap and protect persons, and may be transmitted in heirloom-like fashion across generations, transcending individual life spans to mediate both a living/ancestral sociality, hence they cannot be considered less permanent than tattooed skin[58]. Such forms were among the many ceremonial presentations made to the Duke and Duchess of York following the displays of haka and poi dances, and I discuss some items in detail here.

[58] Certainly some things possess greater material longevity than others. For example a greenstone weapon may be handed down through many generations long after a woven flax garment has disintegrated.

4.5 Presentations of ceremonial dress

> [E]ach tribe danced a special dance for us & afterwards, presented us with mats made of feathers & ornaments made of New Zealand green stone, some of the things really old and valuable, these will make a most choice and interesting collection...In return we gave the chief of each tribe a medal of ourselves on a bright coloured ribbon which they seemed to greatly appreciate[59]

As each descent group completed their performances, they passed in front of the royal stand presenting gifts in a spirit of rivalry (Makereti 1905: 83) until a stream of present-laden people filled the space in front of the stand (Loughnan 1902: 122). Poi dancers gave their poi[60], and many spontaneously removed their ceremonial garments and ornaments adding them to a great pile heaped up in front of the stand, with a scale of generosity that was "most impressive"[61].

In acknowledgement of the customary authority of the Arawa over their ancestral lands, as the tangata whenua they made the final presentation bringing the mauri (ethos) and the mana (ancestral authority) of the occasion back to them. Te Pokiha Taranui had the honour of making the final ceremonial presentation from his privileged position in front of the royal stand (figure 4.24) (Makereti 1905: 83). Beside him was the official Arawa presentation, a substantial carved model canoe[62] loaded up with presents of ceremonial dress[63]. Addressing the Prince, through the medium of Captain Mair, Te Pokiha Taranui announced:

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[59] Letter from Princess Mary, Duchess of York, to her Aunt Augusta, Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (her Aunt), 17 June 1901 (Royal Archives, Windsor Castle, Ref. No. RA GV/CC 22/71)
[60] *Press Association Telegram*, Auckland, June 16, 1901; *The Weekly Press,* June 19, 1901
[61] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21 1901
[62] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901; This is the same canoe described in chapter three, figure 3.5, carved by Tene Waitere, Anaha Te Rahui, and Neke Kapua of Ngati Tarawhai, and placed on loan to the British Museum by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in 1902.
[63] Special Correspondent to *The Weekly Press*, Christchurch, June 19, 1901

> Welcome! Welcome! Welcome! Come hither from your illustrious father, and bring the love of your departed grandmother to us, her grandchildren. My grandson, I will present you now with a model of the canoe in which our ancestors came here over the seas from distant Hawaiki. It is named Te Arawa after our people. I beg you to accept it, and place it in your ancestral hall[64].

The canoe and accompanying presentations of piles of cloaks, ornaments and weaponry were handed up to the stand (figure 4.25)[65]. The Duke and Duchess then walked among their hosts, shaking hands and greeting prominent leaders and many of the dancers (Loughnan 1902: 132).

They made their way to a table where in return the Duke of York presented forty commemorative medals, shaking hands with each recipient[66]. Those presented with medals were chiefly leaders of descent groups considered by colonial and imperial authorities to be 'friendly' or kupapa Maori[67]. Suspended from long red and black bands, the medals bore an inscription on one side, "T.R.H.'s the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York's visit to the colonies 1901", and a portrait of the Duke and Duchess on the other (Loughnan 1902: 132). The Duke then gave a speech of thanks in which he ensured his hosts that "the valuable presents they had made – rare gifts connecting the present with the past...would be treasured for all time in the archives of the nation" (*Ibid*: 133). The Duke and Duchess later acted upon these words, loaning the presentations they received to the British Museum and the Imperial Institute in London in 1902.

Of the many presents given to the Duke and Duchess by the different descent groups[68], reporters frequently emphasise the indigeneity, rarity and age of the gifted items, such as ancestral weapons, and of the materials and techniques used in their manufacture, such as the unprocurable kuri skin (by then extinct), or almost

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[64] Te Pokiha Taranui, trans. Gilbert Mair, cited in *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21 1901; Loughnan 1902: 124-5; *Press Association Telegram*, Auckland, June 16, 1901; *The Weekly Press,* June 19, 1901

[65] Special Correspondent to *The Weekly Press*, Christchurch, June 19, 1901

[66] *Press Association Telegram*, Auckland, June 16, 1901; *The Weekly Press,* June 19, 1901

[67] For discussion of the term kupapa in relation to complex inter-regional descent group politics informing Maori relationships to ancestral lands and their reduction, by colonial officials, to simplistic categories of 'friendlies' and 'rebels', see chapter two section 2.7

[68] Makereti mentions "kiwi, korowai, piupiu, whariki mats, greenstone weapons, tikis, taiaha, and other carvings" (1905: 83); another paper reports, "forty flax mats, twenty feather mats (many of them made from the rare kiwi feathers), six greenstone meres, three clubs or taiahas of carved whalebone, a large model of a canoe and many feather kits and poi balls" Special Correspondent to *The Weekly Press*, Christchurch, June 19, 1901

Figure 4.24 Te Pokiha Taranui seated at the front of the performers, during the ceremonial welcome extended to the Duke and Duchess of York in Arawa Park, Rotorua, June 1901. Te Pokiha, dressed in a dog-skin cloak, holds his taiaha and claymore sword, and to his left is displayed the carved and feathered model canoe, Te Arawa, the official Arawa presentation to the royal guests. Above flies a large Arawa banner, a New Zealand Ensign bearing the ancestral name 'Ko Parua' (Photograph from Loughnan 1902: 107)

Figure 4.25 People advancing to the stand lifting up heaps of presents, the model canoe to the left foreground, adorned with many white feathers, on the occasion of the Maori ceremonial reception to the Duke and Duchess of York, Arawa Park, Rotorua, June 1901 (Photograph from Loughnan 1902: 123)

unprocurable feathers of flightless birds such as the kiwi, in rapid decline[69], attributing value to these ceremonial presentations in a salvage ethnography sense. Items presented to the Duke and Duchess did include taonga of ancestral antiquity, including a long-handled taiaha (figure 4.26), waihaka paraoa (figure 4.27) and patu paraoa (figure 4.28), and numerous other items of weaponry; precious greenstone pendants, including a kuru (figure 4.29) and kapeu (figure 4.30); and finely woven kakahu (garments), including numerous korowai (figure 4.31), kahu huruhuru (figure 4.32) and kaitaka designs (figure 4.33) made from native flax, dog skin and bird feathers. Yet, in addition to the presentations of rare ancestral taonga highlighted in the press, many items would seem to have been fashioned fairly recently, some specifically, for the occasion.

Although Loughnan notes a spontaneous outburst of competitive gifting as people removed their own attire for presentation to the royal party (1902: 122, 131), a significant number of presentations appear to have been planned in advance with the express intention that they be presented to the royal guests. For example, the model canoe presented by the Arawa had been commissioned specifically for the occasion from Ngati Tarawhai carvers (figure 3.5) (Neich 2001: 251), one reporter stating in advance of the visit, that "other gifts of all kinds – kiwi mats, greenstone meres, and other presents – are to be placed within this."[70] Makereti noted that Ngati Tarawhai carvers produced a number of taiaha and tewhawha (long handled weapons) to equip Arawa performers for the planned haka demonstrations[71]. Similarly, the tokipoutangata (figure 4.8) probably presented by Te Pokiha Taranui is of contemporary manufacture and was perhaps commissioned especially for the event.

Other papers noted in general that garments and weaponry were to be presented in great quantities. For example, Wikitoria Taitoko (Mrs Victoria Kemp) was said to be bringing "no less than 35 mats and greenstone and whalebone meres"[72]. Confirming these reports, a korowai cloak presented to the Duke and

[69] For example, *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21 1901; Loughnan 1902: 122; *Press Association Telegram*, Auckland, June 16, 1901; *The Weekly Press,* June 19, 1901
[70] *The Evening Post,* June 11, 1901
[71] 'The Catalogue of my Maori Collection', Box 8, Section L, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum
[72] *The Evening Post,* June 11, 1901

Figure 4.26 Taiaha with decorative wool binding and tassels of dog hair, 159.5cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, TRH 24)

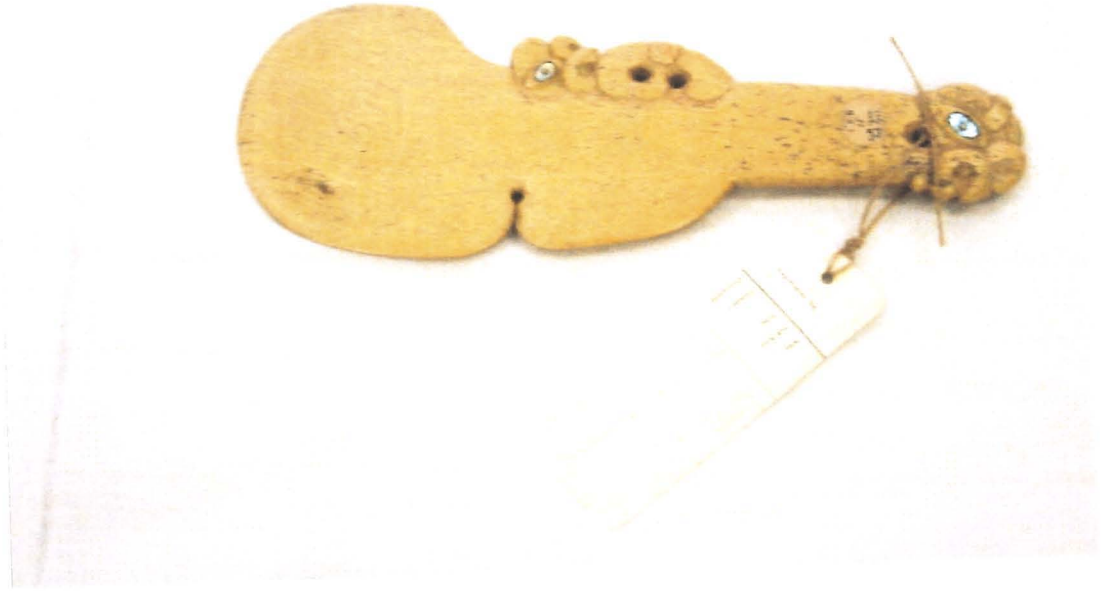

Figure 4.27 Waihaka Paraoa, handheld weapon made from whalebone with paua shell inlaid eyes, 29cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, TRH 15)

Figure 4.28 Patu Paraoa, handheld weapon made from whalebone with paua shell inlaid eyes, 38cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, TRH 11)

Figure 4.29 Kuru Pounamu, nephrite pendant, 9cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, TRH 3)

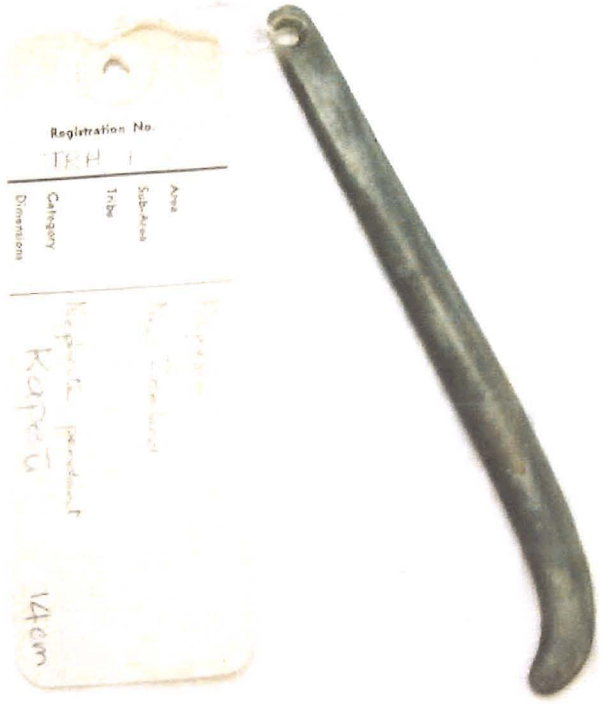

Figure 4.30 Kapeu, curved nephrite pendant, 14cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, TRH 1)

Figure 4.31 Korowai, large woven cloak covered with fine tags woven from flax and dyed using paru (mud). This garment has also been embellished with fine paheke looping in red and black wools, 122cm x 164.5cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, BMEthno.Q95.Oc.31, QRL28)

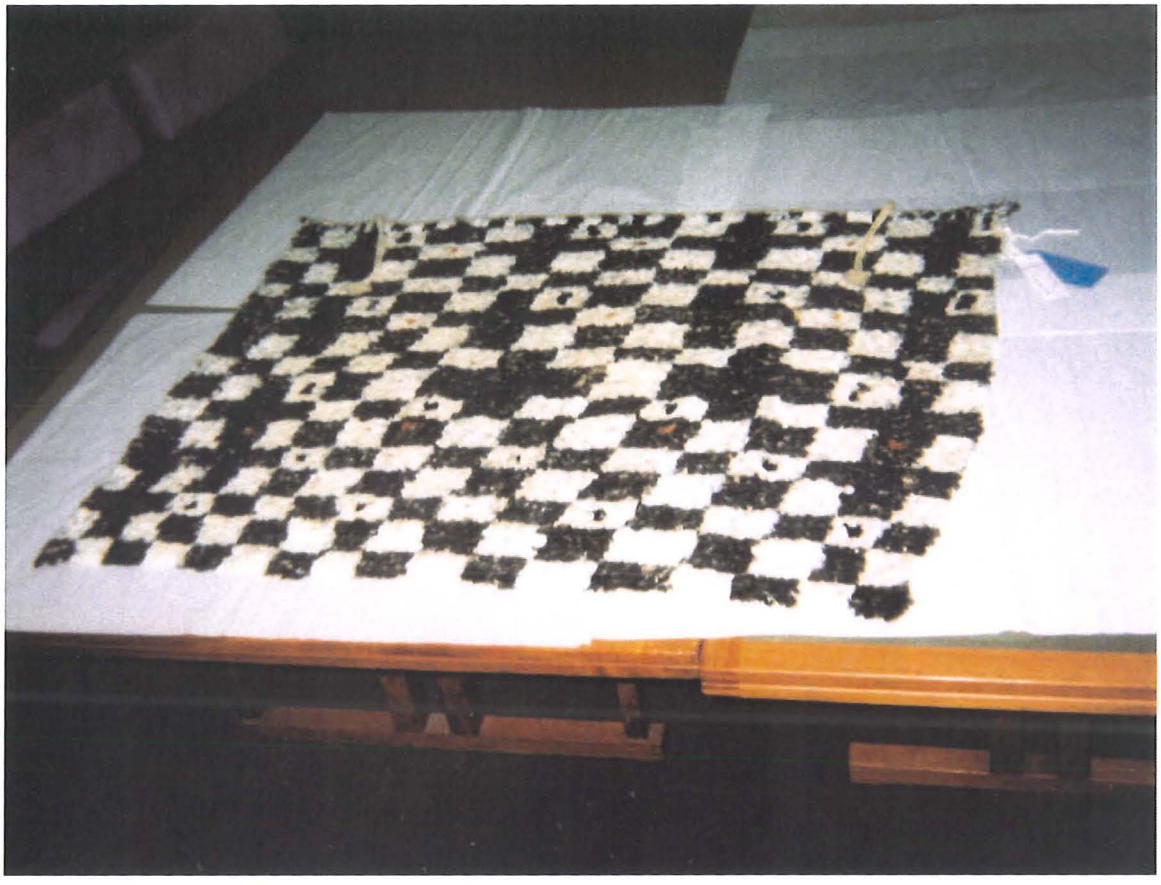

Figure 4.32 Kahuhuruhuru, cloak woven from flax and covered entirely in feathers of the kereru, kaka and tui, 94cm x 129cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, BMEthno.Q95.Oc.5)

Figure 4.33 Kaitaka, cloak woven from muka, finely processed flax, with three patterned taniko borders woven from black and cream muka and red wool, 90cm x 135cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum, BMEthno.Q95.Oc.6, QRL9)

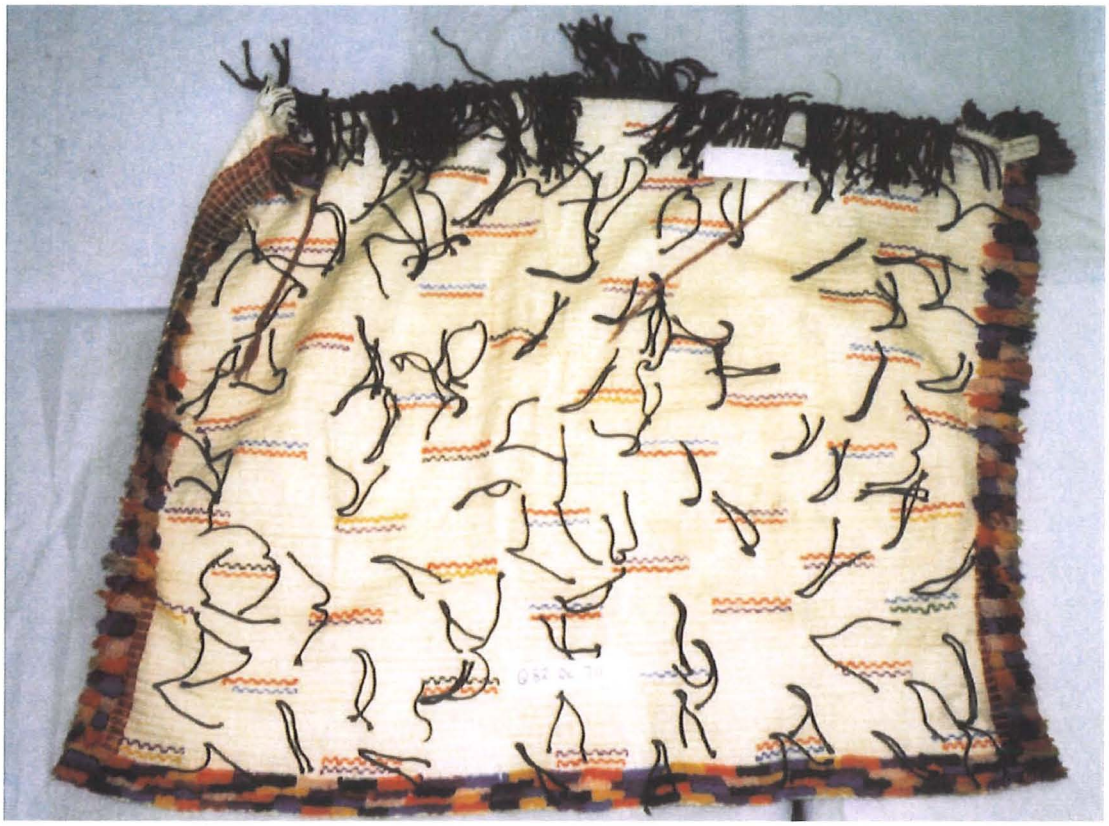

Figure 4.34 Korowai cloak, woven from cotton candlewick, muka, and decorated with a variety of coloured wools, with label of address, "To Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall. From their beloved Rangitane Tribe", 87cm x 120cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum BMEthno.Q 82.Oc.711)

Duchess of York in Rotorua in 1901 bears a label, reading "To Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall. From their beloved Rangitane Tribe" (figure 4.34). More speculatively, as with the red, white and blue blankets and calico waved during the powhiri to receive governor Grey in 1848 (chapter two, section 2.6), a korowai ngore presented to the Duke and Duchess in 1901, made from a colour scheme of white cotton, embellished with red, white and blue wools, was perhaps woven especially for this or some other imperial occasion (figure 4.35).

A matching shoulder cape and belt, that appear to have been recycled from a former large kaitaka cloak perhaps worn with age, are reworked using red, white and blue wool, again possibly indicating association with an imperial occasion. A fragment of similar design has been reworked into a small handbag, using orange and turquoise wools (figure 4.36). Such recycling of old clothing suggests not only an interest in creating new fashions (belts, capes, handbags etc) from old (kaitaka), but also recalls the manner of keeping in touch with forebears, through the mediating capacity of garments associated with deceased family members.

The fashionability of Maori ceremonial garments is also apparent in the dress worn by the Duke and Duchess. A kuri kaitaka presented to the Duke and Duchess, and probably the one worn by the Duke during the ceremonies, is worked with red, white and blue embroidery silks to create taniko borders of a regal colour scheme (figure 4.16). As well as borders the taniko attachments form an upstanding collar and side flaps, a design possibly reminiscent of the high collar and pocket flaps of military dress, such as the uniform in which the Duke had been depicted in the papers previously (figure 4.2). Similarly the Duchess's dress, a kiwi feather cloak (figure 4.15) and kiwi feather muff (figure 4.6), is reminiscent of the fur capes, stoles and muffs fashionable in Europe at the time (figure 4.37). This resonance is suggested in a newspaper's artistic rendering of the Duchess wearing a kahu kiwi (kiwi feather cloak) like an evening fur cape, with a fan of huia feathers in her hand (figure 4.38)[73]. Rather than stressing an incongruity of dress, and by implication the incompatibility of Maori and European bodies, equivalence is suggested between European formal attire and Maori ceremonial garments.

[73] *The Weekly Press* (Souvenir edition), June 26, 1901

Figure 4.35 Korowai ngore cloak, woven from white cotton, muka (flax), and decorated with red, white and blue wools, 87.5cm x 114cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum BMEthno.Q95.Oc21, QRL 18)

Figure 4.36 Cape (BMEthno.Q95.Oc.11); Belt (BMEthno.Q95.Oc.35); Handbag (BMEthno.Q95.Oc.37), formerly from a kaitaka woven from coloured wools, incorporating innovative orange stripes into the kaupapa (body) of the cloak (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum)

Figure 4.37 "Weldon's Latest Novelties for November", including fur capes and stoles, fur muffs, fans and feathers, fashion advertisement in *Weldon's Ladies Journal*, Strand, London (1899: 132-3)

Figure 4.38 "The Duchess's Graceful Compliment to the Maori Race", cover image of the royal visit souvenir edition of *The Weekly Press,* June 26, 1901, depicting the Duchess wearing a kiwi feather cloak over her evening gown, holding a cluster of huia feathers in fan, with a huia feather in her hair.

The implication of cloak and feathers as fashionable items of elite dress may well have been taken to be complimentary at the time (rather than say 'appropriative', in the politically loaded sense of post-colonial discourse today). Weavers themselves were fashioning novel items (a tea cosy, a muff) using prestigious materials, colours, techniques and styles customarily the reserve of those of senior lineage (taniko weaving, kuri skin, finely woven muka items, white albatross feathers, red satin) to create items associated with trend-setting practices of the British nobility[74] (high fashion, tea-drinking habits, the military). Maori women also expressed an interest in modern fashions through displaying the latest European clothing, as a media correspondent observed, "One society belle walked about in a tailor-made black satin suit, with a novel sort of toque, made out of a black and white feather boa, twisted round her hair"[75].

Other kakahu presented to the Duke and Duchess consist of combinations of new and old materials and techniques and display a multiplicity of exciting designs, such as a cloak woven from exotic wools selected to imitate a pre-European colour scheme of red, cream, gold and black (figure 4.39). This had formerly been achieved using locally sourced red ochre, a golden yellow bark, the natural cream colour of processed muka (flax), and the shiny black colour obtained by immersing muka into paru (mud).

On a pragmatic level, the uptake of exotic materials such as wool, cotton and fowl feathers would have cut out laborious processes of harvesting, stripping, beating, boiling, dying and twining flax into fine muka thread, as well as the trapping birds and cleaning and preparing feathers. This would enable garments to be woven more quickly, as may have been necessary to prepare for a large ceremonial welcome with short notice. A need for exotic materials may also emerge from a reduction in access to native resources through the privatisation of land, and a reduction in native bird numbers through the introduction of new hunting technologies, farming methods, and predators.

[74] In this historical period at least, royal personages were the popular celebrities who set fashionable trends in dress, as well as in other areas such as architecture and interior furnishing.
[75] Special Correspondent to *The Weekly Press*, Christchurch, June 19, 1901

Figure 4.39 Korowai Ngore, woven from dyed muka (flax) and ornamented with muka hukahuka (tags) and red, cream and golden yellow wool pompoms and loops, 114.5cm x 130cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum BMEthno.Q95.Oc.17)

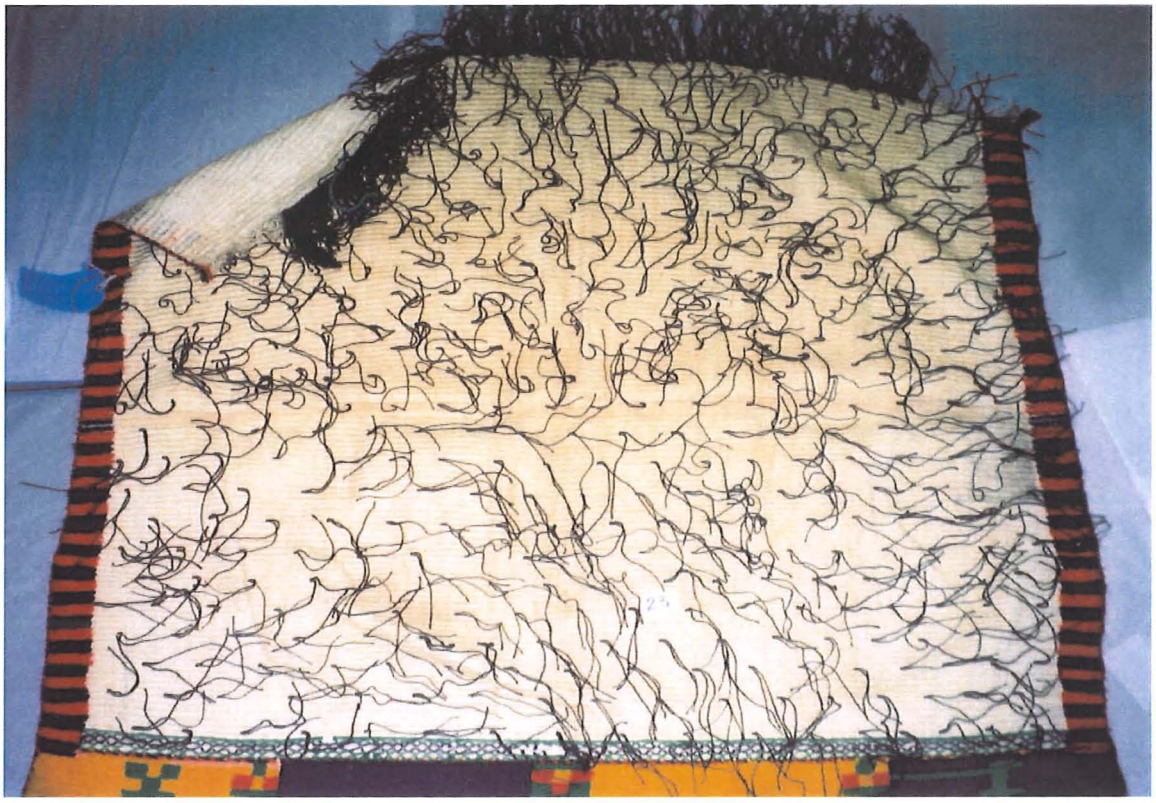

Figure 4.40 Korowai, muka body with flax hukahuka, red and black wool looping along side borders, and an unusual taniko design woven from red, yellow, green and blue wools, 120cm x 142cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum BMEthno.Q95.Oc.26)

However, people did not select new materials merely in imitation of local ones. This would suggest they were unable to interpret new things except through a set of preconceived categories and principles, rendering social life and its material mediation as conservative and unchanging. In fact, the creative adoption and adaptation of entirely novel materials and colours has a deep history. By the mid nineteenth century, artist George French Angas had remarked that "Blue and scarlet caps, and variegated 'comforters', brought by the traders, find a ready market amongst the women, who pick them to pieces to form the tufted ornamentation of their dresses" (Angas 1847: Plate 26). More generally, a tourist in Ohinemutu commented that people attending a land court hearing in Tamatekapua wore fine woven cloaks, many with "different coloured wools worked in" (Payton 1888: 113-4).

Similarly, many of the garments presented to the Duke and Duchess demonstrate entirely new colour schemes and patterns[76], such as a korowai cloak (figure 4.40) with a lower border woven from red, yellow, green and blue wools in the taniko technique, departing dramatically from conventional triangular geometric patterns in taniko weaving (see figures 4.18, 4.33, 4.36). Another experimental design combines a flax base with coloured wools and exotic feathers to create a dizzying display of wool and feather surface attachments, including a novel pink and purple chevron design along the side borders (figure 4.41).

An unusual korowai ngore design with black and yellow, and green and pink wool attachments in cross formations (figure 4.42) has been smeared in red ochre, a restricted substance indicating the tapu (sacred) state of both garment and wearer. Perhaps the wool attachments arranged in cross formations were also intended to invoke sacredness, translating between tapu and holiness as equivalent metaphysical states. This point returns to my general argument that bodily surfaces can be revealing of ones spiritual condition – as exemplified in the capacity to achieve states of ihi, wehi and wana in the presence of mana and tapu – and similar expectations may have applied to the adoption of European clothing and designs.

[76] The innovative designs of many of the cloaks presented to the Duke and Duchess in 1901 was such that in my fieldwork several people queried their antiquity, and some even questioned their Maori origin.

Figure 4.41 Korowai, muka body with exotic coloured wool and feather body attachments and borders, including a novel pink and purple chevron design along the side borders, 96cm x 136cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum BMEthno. Q95.Oc.13)

Figure 4.42 Korowai ngore, muka body with red flax hukahuka (tags), black wool hukahuka, 99cm x 108.5cm (Royal Loan 1902, British Museum BMEthno.Q95.Oc.20)

Putting on new clothes could have been understood as a modification of bodily surface that enabled one to transform into and reveal not only modesty, but also a required spiritual state, a body charged with holiness. As I will argue below, this idea could be applied across a number of different forms.

4.6 Wrapping, surface and metaphysical attraction

In Maori garment manufacture, rites surrounding the initiation of a weaver serve to open up a channel through which ancestral force and efficacy may flow through the weaver's hands into the garment (Best 1898: 129; Weiner 1992: 53; Buck 1924; Mead 1969). In this sense, garments form a conduit through which metaphysical presence becomes manifest. They directly embody ancestral presence, rather than indirectly 'symbolise' or 'represent' an ancestor that exists elsewhere in some other dimension. Just as certain fibres and materials, such as feathers, bindings and ochre, might enable people and things to become conduits, pathways along which ancestral forces and presence could flow between seen and unseen dimensions, so these ideas might readily translate into cloth, clothing, and related techniques of binding them, such as sewing and embroidery, that were initially introduced by people who were themselves considered to have access to the divine.

It is perhaps highly significant that such techniques were either directly taught by missionaries and their wives, or indirectly associated with these 'people of the cloth' so to speak. As noted in chapter two, missionary wives such as Ellen Spencer, who taught needlework at Wairoa (see section 2.5, page 88), may well have encouraged a direct association between cloth, clothing, needlework and a sense of Christian morality and proximity to the divine, for example by embroidering Christian iconography or ecclesiastical quotations onto cloth. Pupils may have taken rapidly to these because the associations people were accustomed to making with regard to Maori weaving techniques were translatable into these new forms, techniques and materials. Thus rubbing the surface of a cloak with red ochre (as in figure 4.42) is perhaps akin to embroidering a rainbow onto a cloak (figure 4.43), the rainbow embodying the presence of Tainui founding ancestor Uenuku. These may be analogous forms of marking or adorning surfaces to bring forth ancestral or divine forces from an unseen dimension into material things in the world. Yet unlike "God

Figure 4.43 Detail of a late nineteenth or early twentieth century korowai with multi-coloured wool hukahuka (tags) and paheke (loops) and a rainbow motif embroidered with a needle, BM Ethno. Q82.Oc.709 (Photograph from Pendergrast 1998: 146)

Bless this House" embroidered and framed above the bedstead of a Victorian household, rather than praying for a distant god's assistance, through their actions upon garment or cloth people can actively bring forth ancestral presence, empowering descendants directly with their mana, authority and efficacy.

Maori woven garments play an important role in tangihanga (funerary rites) wrapping the body of the deceased, and more recently the coffin, and assisting the passage of the wairua (spirit force) from Te Ao to Te Po. Garments are collectively referred to as kakahu, or kahu, which also refers to the amniotic sac (Williams 1917: 100). Both form protective wrappings that envelope people during their passage between Te Ao and Te Po, at birth and at death (Best 1898; Weiner 1992: 52-3). During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for a period of time flags also came to play important roles in ceremonies that surround the precarious passage from Te Ao to Te Po upon death[77], shrouding the coffin in tangihanga, or covering memorials in hura kohatu (unveiling ceremonies)[78]. Although a largely twentieth century practice, hura kohatu may recall former practices of hahunga (Barlow 1991: 28-9). Frequently performed around the Easter period, they may also incorporate aspects of the Christian calendar, combining notions of the resurrection of the Holy Spirit[79] with Maori understandings of the passage of the wairua to Te Po upon death.

The adoption of flags into tangihanga and into hui more generally, flown on flag poles or from ancestral meetinghouses in the late nineteenth century and into the mid twentieth century, perhaps draws upon understandings of flags as heraldic devices that embody potent associations of military prowess and the divine sanction

[77] Ancestral flags, evident in descriptions and photographs of hui from the second half of the nineteenth century to around the mid twentieth century, are not, to my knowledge, flown during ceremonial hui today. Flags may still be used in unveilings, to cover the memorial stone, and in tangimate to cover the coffin on the final day, as the wairua departs from the physical frame and the coffin leaves the meetinghouse and travels to the urupa (burial ground), either on their own or in conjunction with woven kakahu, but there is an increasing trend towards the use of kakahu (for a description of an unveiling using kakahu see Tapsell 1997).

[78] Other than nineteenth century newspapers and local history publications, the incorporation of flags into Maori ceremonial proceedings such as powhiri and tangihanga remains, to my knowledge, unpublished. My awareness of these practices is based upon late nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs in museum and private collections, from local history books and from tangihanga and unveiling practices today.

[79] Barlow (1991: 29) notes that "special cloths" are reserved for unveiling ceremonies, which may presented ceremonial on marae between families, on such occasions the recipients claim the right to use the cloth by giving genealogical evidence of their relationship to the deceased. Historical photographs suggest these 'special cloths' were frequently flags and banners reinforcing the suggestion that the metaphysical capacities of woven kakahu may be translated into flags.

of monarchy. These associations are not unlike those of waka taua (war canoes), embodying the military prowess of a descent group, and the mana they hold over their ancestral lands, as well as connecting people to the ancestral homeland of Hawaiki. Flags were often flown on the stern of a canoe, in place of or alongside streamers of fluttering feathers, both flags and feathers mediating between sky and ground, fluttering in the air and imbuing animate objects with hau (essential life force)[80].

If attachments that embellish the surfaces of garments, weapons, ornaments, vessels, houses and humans offer spiritual protection in the world, then what might have been expected from exchanges of dress between Maori and their royal guests? What did these exchanges achieve and what were their limits? In considering these questions throughout this chapter I have been inspired by Keane's provocative suggestion that we treat things not as "tangible garments draped on otherwise invisible and immaterial ideas" (Keane 2005: 11), but instead consider instead their formal properties, their pragmatic capacities and hence their role in causal relations.

To do so, I have replaced categories such as clothing, weaponry, cloth, canoes and so on with a more general notion of wrapping that can be applied across these forms without making presumptions about the functional utility, importance or effect of things, nor about what may or may not count as animate agents in the world. This is because in Maori thought and linguistic expression it is not always assumed that people are active in relation to passive material others. Things considered to be active in relation to the passive people they wrap, carry, contain, protect and generally sustain people, include land, houses and buildings, ancestors and elders, and water and modes of transport such as boats (and nowadays cars and such like)[81].

With these distinctions in mind, I should like to make some preliminary and tentative suggestions as to how exchanges of Maori ceremonial dress and British

[80] That the metaphysically mediating capacity of feathers and fibres may be translated into other forms such as flags, is affirmed by accounts of the display of ancestral flags during land court hearings (Stafford 1967: 325-6), suggesting descent group flags formed a means of materially affirming their mana over their lands. Similarly, when Te Heuheu transferred the mana-tapu of Ngati Tuwharetoa lands to Potatau Te Wherowhero, head of the King Movement, he did so through a ceremony that deployed flags and cords as the transmitters of that mana-tapu (Cowan 1922: 151).

[81] The location of agency and the distinction between subjects and objects is expressed in speech through the use of active and passive possessives. For example 'mau tenei patu' would mean 'this weapon is for you', as in for you to act upon, to have use of; whereas 'mou tenei patu' would mean 'this weapon is for you', to be acted upon, the implication being to be struck with.

regalia, as equivalent forms of wrapping, may have enabled far more than an expression of belonging to a new religion, a British Empire, or an ancestral descent group. If through their metaphysically mediating capacity, these items of ceremonial dress and royal regalia were considered to bring forth ancestral presence, exchanges of these things might constitute exchanges of these relationships, and were perhaps understood to be mutually binding in their transmission not of inert matter, but of living substance, of relatedness.

4.7 Complicity or compliment?

Returning to the critique established in chapter two of the presumption that collections in Britain reflect the tastes of European collectors (Gatherole 1978; Starzecka 1998), in this chapter I have sought to focus my analyses not on European collecting preferences and practices but on moments of encounter during which ceremonial presentations of dress and regalia were made between senior Maori and British lineages.

Subsequently, the British royal family loaned many of these presentations to national institutions. Far from being selected in accordance with curatorial tastes, I believe that were these items not presented by Maori to the royal family, many of them would not have been accessioned at all. Items such as brightly coloured wool cloaks or unconventional forms (handbags, tea cosies etc) would most likely have been rejected on the grounds of being too 'modern' or 'non-traditional'. Instead of constructing categories of material culture as representative of ethnic groups or societies, in this chapter I have instead posited equivalences between forms and practices, as different parties to an encounter recognised pragmatic commonalities between them.

Perhaps the significance of these affinities has been overlooked by anthropology's ongoing concern with cultural relativism and difference, one that is embodied in the way in which things have been collected, stored and displayed in museums as collections of objects representative of discrete ethnic categories. For example, Maori ceremonial presentations of cloaks and weapons were presented as part of ongoing ceremonial exchanges in which British royal guests displayed and presented swords, flags, regalia and statuary. These things could be conceived of in

terms of the relationships of equivalence that may have been drawn between them at the time. And in this respect, museological segregation of them into ethnically discrete categories becomes ethnographically inaccurate. In turn, this may have rendered us quite unprepared to conceive of just how rapidly people took to and developed novel ideas, materials and practices out of situations of ongoing encounter and exchange.

It may at first seem paradoxical that during a period of rapid colonial disempowerment, land alienation and impoverishment such generous hospitality should be extended to imperial visitors. And yet, contrary to the dying out narratives of mid-nineteenth century emigration propaganda, and the dusky romance of late-nineteenth century tourism marketing discussed in chapter two, the great receptions extended to British royal guests articulated a different presence altogether – one of a landscape inhabited by a vigorous, energetic and proud people, a people with mana whose generous hospitality stood to enhance that mana, thereby affirming their ancestral rights to their lands.

By negotiating the presence of visitors onto ancestral lands, and quite literally accommodating them through the extension of manaakitanga, Maori were able to incorporate imperial and colonial visitors, and in so doing, to insist upon relations of equivalence, relatedness and indebtedness through elaborate ceremonials of encounter that have long been designed to negotiate the access of strangers. Accommodation may have enabled a space in which long-standing rivalries between hapu and iwi could continue to be expressed. As with competitiveness expressed in the receiving of missionaries, governors, royal tourists and European invalids in the previous century, so the reception extended to royal guests in 1901 may have formed a novel avenue through which the mana of descent groups could be challenged and affirmed.

Unlike taua and muru (ritual plunder, as discussed in chapter two, section 2.4, page 82), the custom of manaakitanga, of dispensing abundant hospitality to guests, could hardly be said to threaten European senses of proprietary rights. It may, however, have inadvertently flattered a sense of European superiority. Assuming inherent white superiority, it would be easy to impute into these gestures the notion of subservient colonial subjects offering tribute to their imperial superiors (as

Loughnan 1902 does, for example). This slippage from the honour of hosts to the subservience of colonial subjects is ultimately how a majority settler population appear to have experienced the occasion, at least that is if they believed what they read in the frequently pompous and typically self-celebrating newspaper reports and official accounts surrounding the occasion.

Yet to assume at the time that this behaviour constituted a subservient loyalty, or conversely, to interpret this event from the post-colonial position of the present as one of complicity is to reduce a deeper history of regional political complexity between descent groups in relation to ancestral lands and authority to a series of simplistic binaries ('Maori' and 'European', 'coloniser' and 'colonised', 'loyal' and 'rebel', 'kupapa' and 'kingite' and so on). In this sense, receiving royal guests was neither subservient nor complicit, but paid a respectful compliment extended from one senior lineage to another, a compliment that was returned by accepting this hospitality, which formed an implicit acknowledgement of the host group's status, positing a relationship of equivalence between lineages. If we take seriously the notion posited in the previous section of this chapter, that these presentations of things might constitute exchanges of relationship, in this instance across generations of senior Maori lineages and Queen Victoria's family, then was the weight of their significance realised by both parties to the encounter? We can explore this question by considering a return presentation made a year later by colonial governor, Lord Ranfurly, on behalf of the Duke and Duchess of York.

Received onto Te Papa-I-Ouru marae, W. K. Wihapi spoke on behalf of Ngati Whakaue and Keepa Te Rangipuawhe on behalf of Tuhourangi, expressing their wishes that land remaining in Arawa ownership be protected for the sustenance of future generations. In his reply the governor, paying tribute to Te Pokiha Taranui (Major Fox) who had passed away only days after the Duke's visit[82], bestowed a union flag suspended from a polished staff inscribed "Presented to the Arawa tribe by His Highness the Duke of Cornwall and York, K.G., in remembrance of his visit to them on June 14, 1901"[83]. He then delivered a grandiose speech, stating the flag 'symbolised' the greatest most powerful empire in the world, the British Empire, of

[82] Te Pokiha's vast tangihanga lasted for over three weeks, as many came to pay their respects (*Te Pipiwharauroa* No. 43: 12, June 1901; *Bay of Plenty Times,* June 19, 1901)
[83] *Rotorua Morning Post*, 18 May, 2002

which Maori people were a part. Grounded in the belief that the regalia so exchanged were merely 'symbolic' of a power that lay elsewhere, would this presentation a binding relationship make?

As long as ontological distinctions between persons and things remained in place, it may have been safely assumed by the royal guests that the ceremonial presentations they received were merely 'symbolic' gestures of goodwill from loyal subjects. Had a distinction between persons and mere things not been presumed, all things being genealogically connected through relationships of descent, these transfers of things might constitute transfers of relationship, forming mutually binding relationships across generations of chiefly lineages, between a recently deceased 'grandmother', her 'grandchildren' and their 'grandson'. However, believing in the 'mere materiality' of his new clothes, it was probably not possible for this future emperor to conceive of, nor act upon, the depths of his materially transacted boundedness and indebtedness.

Given the prevailing power relations, it was also not necessary to understand or act upon the indebtedness and obligations ceremonially transferred from Maori host to imperial and colonial recipients. As the next chapter shall demonstrate, a new century did not demonstrate a commitment to Maori people in the Rotorua region, nor bring them generous return and prosperity. Instead colonial authorities, through the jurisdiction of the government tourist department, evolved an ever-increasing foothold in the region's tourism industry, and the once bustling Maori villages of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa would become increasingly impoverished.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHANGING PATRONAGE RELATIONS

The Duke of York plumed
his cap with a guide's gift.
After that sanctuaries were futile
not even a tapu could save them.
Jewellers traded feathers
for a pound a piece.
Groomed into extinction
at the bend of century[1].

5.1 Introduction

Following the success of the Rotorua reception, reporters boasted it could not be rivalled in any other country visited on the British royal colonial tour[2] as the picturesqueness and novelty of Maori people made New Zealand a colony above all colonies[3]. Maori people were admired as a proud, generous and 'noble race' to the point of being considered "the finest people that British colonisation has ever come into contact with" (Loughnan 1902: 145), and village scenes, ceremonial customs and arts could be understood as powerful and distinctive expressions of colonial nationality (figure 5.1).

Accordingly, the presentation of hundreds of ancestral taonga, garments and other cultural artefacts to the royal visitors for removal to Britain sparked nationalistic criticism in the colonial press (Loughnan 1902: 125). Loughnan (the official reporter of the British tour) chided such remarks, stressing the importance that these unique relics become the property of the British nation, rather than fall into German, French or American hands (1902: 131). Criticisms also appeared in the Maori language newspaper *Te Pipiwharauroa,* where a reporter writing under the pseudonym 'Tipi Whenua' suggested it was not tika (correct) for these taonga (ancestral valuables) worth thousands of pounds, to pass out of the country. Instead,

[1] The extinction of the Huia bird, extract from 'Cons and Pros', a poem by Briar Wood (Lander and Wood 2001: 16)
[2] *New Zealand Herald,* June 21, 1901
[3] *Auckland Weekly News*, June 21, 1901

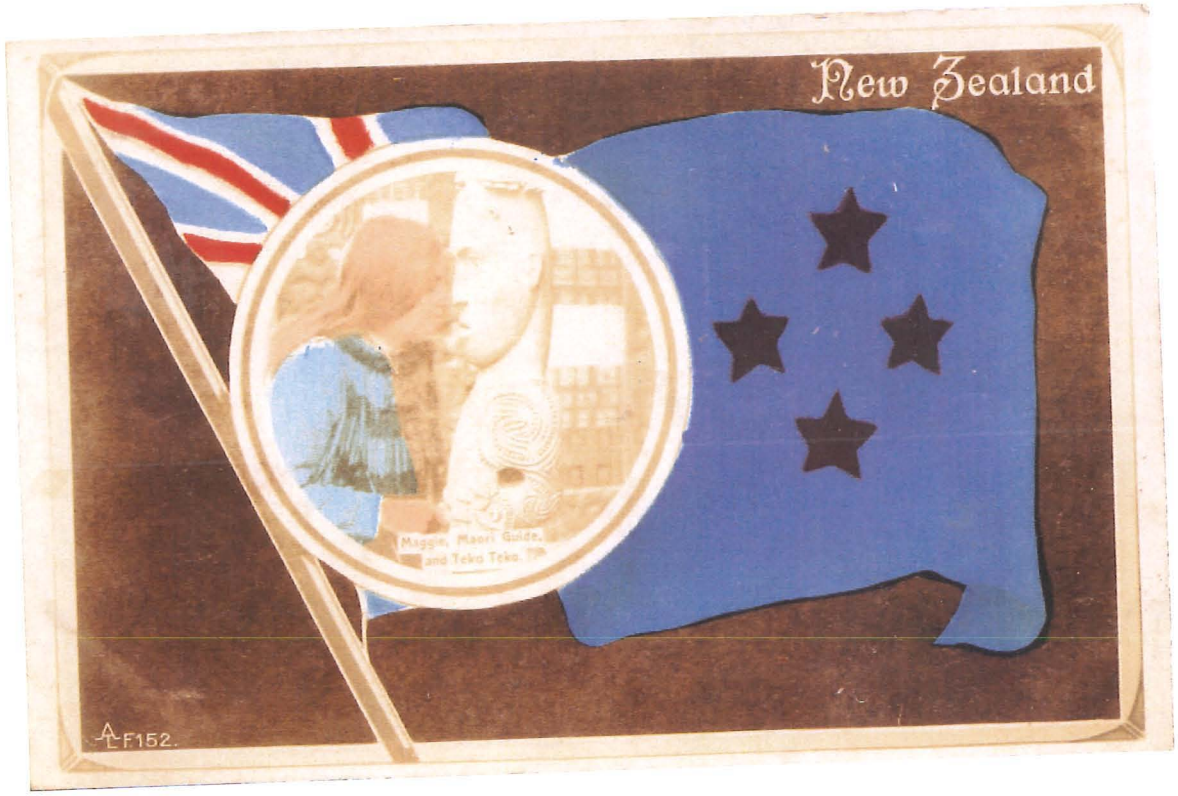

Figure 5.1 "New Zealand", "Maggie, Maori guide, and Teko Teko", an early twentieth century postcard depicting Makereti, Guide Maggie Papakura, performing a hongi with the exterior poutokomanawa (carved centre post) of Rauru, juxtaposed onto a New Zealand Ensign (Postcard: author's collection)

'Tipi Whenua' suggested agreement with the korero (talk) of the pakeha (settler), that taonga are a specific emblem of 'the great Maori iwi'[4].

Clearly Tipi Whenua's[5] opinion contradicts the actions of the thousands of Maori participants in the reception held at Rotorua in June 1901, who made hundreds of presentations to the royal guests, numerous of which were commissioned in advance with precisely this intention in mind[6]. It seems possible therefore that many Maori may well have been indifferent to – if not in disagreement with – this notion of national heritage. Perhaps there was even a need for articles such as Tipi Whenua's to sway Maori opinion. Potentially contentious, this idea of Maori cultural artefacts as national heritage, and hence national property, was legislated just four months later in October 1901, when the government introduced a 'Maori Antiquities Act' forbidding the export of Maori 'relics' from the colony without first offering them for sale to the governor[7]. Drawn up by James Carroll/Timi Kara, the Maori Minister of Native Affairs, this could indicate Maori support of the idea, but it could just as well indicate a need to assuage Maori opinion.

This tension – between a young colony claiming Maori cultural artefacts as its rightful heritage and property, and a persistent regional descent group practice of making presentations of ancestral taonga and other valued items to visitors, from early contact into the present[8] – is perplexing as it runs contrary to late twentieth century cultural property discourse that bases itself upon the presupposition that indigenous groups have a moral need to make repatriation claims upon the museums of former imperial centres that expropriated their cultural property from them[9]. More historically minded accounts have considered with greater nuance the processes of colonial nation making, and their discursive and material reification, in terms of settler co-options of indigenous cultural reference (Thomas 1999a; Dibley 1997).

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[4] 'Nga Taonga Ma Te Manuhiri', pp 3-4 in 'Te Hui Ki Rotorua', a report of the Maori reception of June 1901 by Tipi Whenua, *Te Pipiwharauroa* Number 43

[5] Tipi Whenua may have been a Pakeha (settler) author writing under a Maori pseudonym, as in this historical period significant numbers of settlers were fluent in Maori.

[6] For example, items such as the waka taua (model canoe), the woven tea cosy, and the korowai cloak with a label of address the Their Royal Highnesses (see figures 3.5, 4.6, and 4.34 respectively) were made as presents for the royal guests.

[7] 'Maori Curios: prevention of removal from NZ' (NA MS TO 1, 20, 1901/162/18)

[8] These practices continue today, for example Queen Elizabeth II was presented with a kiwi kakahu (kiwi feather cloak) during a visit to New Zealand in 2001.

[9] For example see Simpson (1996), and for a critique of cultural property discourse see Cory-Pearce (2000).

However, competitive presentations delivered by regional descent groups complicate the picture considerably, suggesting the enduring significance of hapu and iwi relationships with land, informed by ancestral histories that transcend European arrival and transgress the boundaries of persons and things that nationalism (Maori national and/or settler national) seeks to create[10]. As this chapter demonstrates, with the expansion of a state-run tourism industry in Rotorua, these tensions between descent groupings and settler co-option of a more straightforward sense of 'Maoriness' into colonial nationality re-emerge, leading to disputes over hereditary rights in valuable resources, specifically tour guiding through thermal areas.

Playing a central role in both an expanding national tourism industry, and in the forging of a sense of distinctive colonial nationhood, with the opening of new railway connections and the flood of positive national media surrounding the royal visit, the new century would appear to promise an era of prosperity for the Arawa people of the Rotorua region. In this chapter I explore the place of Maori objects, imagery and people in this emerging nationality and expanding tourism industry by consideration of changing patronage relations as a government tourist department, institutional and commercial European business interests become increasingly influential patrons of Maori practitioners. To engage with the implications of changing patronage relations for local artistic forms and practices, and the limitations and opportunities new patronages relations might create, I examine the emergence of purpose-built mobile Maori villages, new forms of manufactured souvenirs and tourist entertainments, and consider the effects of changing patronage upon these new tourist art forms and upon the livelihoods of Maori working in tourism in the Rotorua region.

[10] Here I adapt Thomas's notion of native and/or national reference in settler culture (an awkward inclusion of nativeness into settler senses of belonging that he argues has been destabilising, and in the long-term, uniquely self-subverting of colonial nationhood in Aotearoa/New Zealand 1999a: 15, 96), to add a further dimension to the binary, that of relationships of ancestral descent and of exchange between descent lines within the 'Maori' ethnic population that transcends Maori/European colonial relations.

5.2 Tourism, national heritage and preservation

Although not subjected to a colonial policy of raupatu (confiscation)[11], persistent settler interest in acquiring thermal areas of land for tourism industry development placed the Arawa under a particular, localised form of pressure to relinquish their ancestral lands. This pressure can be seen operating through a number of self-serving legislations enacted by the colonial government in the early twentieth century that, although couched in a language of preservation of national resources, also served to establish and rapidly expand a national tourism industry in competition with – and frequently at the expense of – pre-existing Arawa tourism interests.

Under a new 'Scenery Preservation Act' (1903), the government could take lands containing thermal springs or areas of historic interest as national 'scenic resources'. Anyone engaged in economic exploitation of land designated a scenic resource (such as digging sulphur, working timber, clearing bush to cultivate land and other subsistence activities) would be liable to a one hundred pound fine. Since the act applied to private land, including ancestral lands held collectively by Maori, many people in the thermal areas of Rotorua could lose their land; or at least become unable to derive income from it, except through tourism-related work such as tour guiding. With subsistence economies already displaced, this would force further reliance on wage labour or, where this was unavailable, create further impoverishment.

A group of petitioners protesting against the act expressed suspicion of government motives, as the act enabled the state to reserve for its own use,

> the famous places, the lands containing thermal springs, the famous pas, the canoe landing places of former days, the sites of famous whares, the sacred whares, the bird snaring places of olden time, that is to say all such places as are understood by this Act as likely to be much frequented by the Tourists of the world who visit here. And the Maoris who are the owners of the said lands will be left to die; sufficient as to that[12].

The petition asked that Maori lands be exempted, but was rejected on the grounds that the bulk of lands defined as 'scenic' or 'historic' (in the North island) were

[11] As had been the case in the 'rebel' (and fertile, agriculturally promising) Waikato ('King Country') and Taranaki regions.

[12] Petition from Hapeta Hau Te Horo and one hundred others to the Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts, NA MS TO 1, 53, 1904, 191/12 'Maori protests against land being taken under Act, 1904'

Maori owned, hence this would effectively nullify the act[13]. This admission reveals the extent to which this act enabled the government to exercise authority over remaining Maori title in thermal areas, primarily the Rotorua region.

Immediately after its enactment, the government 'Department of Tourist and Health Resorts'[14] took Tourikuri spring at Whakarewarewa, much against the will of Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao, to build an enclosed bathhouse known as the 'Spout Baths' for the convenience of guests at the Geyser Hotel, near Whakarewarewa[15]. Hot water was tapped from the village's main hot spring Parekohuru to supply the Spout Baths, affecting village supplies and causing small eruptions and earth slides that endangered residents' dwellings and safety (Waaka 1982: 84-5).

Concerned to free up tourist access to thermal areas, the tourist department maintained pressure upon Whakarewarewa people to abolish their access tolls and reduce guiding fees, and took land to build roads to scenic reserves. Residents insisted tolls would remain in place until adequate compensation was paid for the removal of a toll system, and for lands taken to build roads and other public works[16]. Matters remained unresolved until June 1905 when Wi Keepa Te Rangipuawhe, paramount elder of Tuhourangi, passed away. Anxious to raise the funds necessary to host a vast tangihanga and uphold the mana of their people, Tuhourangi and Ngati Wahiao accepted the government's meagre offer of one hundred pounds, an offer they had rejected up until then[17]. With entry fees abolished, income generated in other areas such as from tour guiding, concert parties and the sale of souvenirs would become increasingly important, as would economic opportunities fostered with European business interests in Rotorua town.

5.3 European patronage, carved houses and guiding

In 1902 Charles Nelson's carved house Rauru was relocated from its Geyser hotel location to the centre of the village, where it rapidly became an integral part of tour guiding and a location for haka and poi performances (figure 5.2). In the construction

[13] Reply from C R C Robieson to petitioners, 'Maori protests against land being taken under Act, 1904' (NA MS TO 1, 53, 1904/191/12)
[14] Henceforth I refer to this department as 'the tourist department'.
[15] 'Whakarewarewa Baths 1901-6' (NA MS TO 1, 13, 1901/107/4)
[16] 'Whakarewarewa, Petition for Compensation for Land, 1903-5' (NA MS TO 1, 50, 1903, 172)
[17] Letter from Guide Alfred Patiti Warbrick, Ngati Rangitihi to the *New Zealand Telegraph*, 27th June 1905

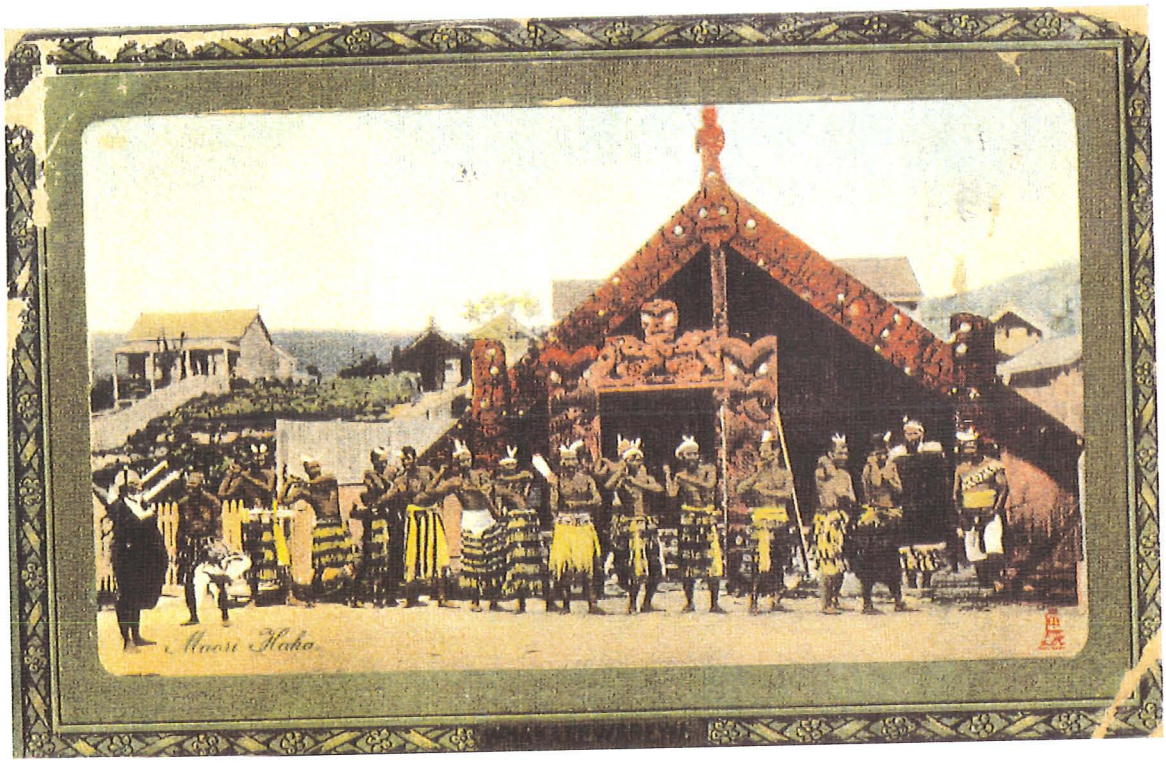

Figure 5.2 "Maori Haka", "Whakarewarewa", postcard depicting Rauru Meetinghouse, Te Pakira Marae, Whakarewarewa, c. 1903, with Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao men performing posture dance in front, led by Mita Taupopoki (front left), (Postcard: private collection)

of Rauru to complete a set of carvings obtained from Te Waru of Ngati Whaoa in 1897, between 1897 and 1900 Nelson commissioned further carvings from Ngati Tarawhai carvers Neke Kapua, Eramiha Kapua and Tene Waitere. The carvings commissioned by Ngati Whaoa were originally intended for another house, which for various reasons had been abandoned[18]. They portrayed ancestors (presumably of Ngati Whaoa) in highly abstract full frontal or side profile designs, carved in period Ngati Tarawhai style (Neich 2001: 199) (figure 5.3). In stark contrast, the new carvings commissioned by Nelson included several highly graphic poupou (carved posts) depicting major founding ancestors in an unprecedented pictorial, naturalistic style carved primarily by Tene Waitere.

Graphic poupou in Rauru house include an illustration of Whakaotirangi bringing her basket of kumara (sweet potato) from Hawaiki to Aotearoa, and Maui seeking immortality by entering Hinenui-Te-Po, ancestress of the dimension of darkness and creative potential (figure 5.4). Tene Waitere also experimented with the effects of perspective to depict Maui, with face turned to an oblique angle, in the act of fishing up the north island, Te Ika-a-Maui (the fish of Maui) (figure 5.5). A window shutter carved in a more conventional figurative style but still with graphic emphasis, illustrates the regional narrative of Hatupatu (figure 5.6) who escaped from the half-bird/half-woman ancestress Kurangaituku (who was depicted semi-naturalistically on the door) by tricking her into a hot pool.

Settlers such as Nelson were probably familiar with these and other distant and widely known Maori ancestral narratives through Grey's popular folkloric publication *Polynesian Mythology* (1856). It is likely European patrons such as Nelson, when commissioning ancestral carvings for a house, expressed a preference for carvings of the Maori ancestors they were familiar with, rather than the closer (genealogically speaking), more specific and less widely known ancestors of regional descent groups. Likewise, visitors to Rotorua, having read Grey's publication or any one of numerous romanticised renderings of 'Maori legends' in guidebooks and souvenir publications available in Rotorua at the time, probably developed their own romantic expectations of Maori life, and perhaps desired to hear these particular narratives.

[18] See Neich (2001: 197-209) for a detailed account.

Figure 5.3 Earlier poupou obtained by Charles Nelson in 1897 from Te Waru, Ngati Whaoa, carved in an abstract figurative style by Ngati Tarawhai experts (Photograph: Alexander Turnbull Library, F21681-1/4)

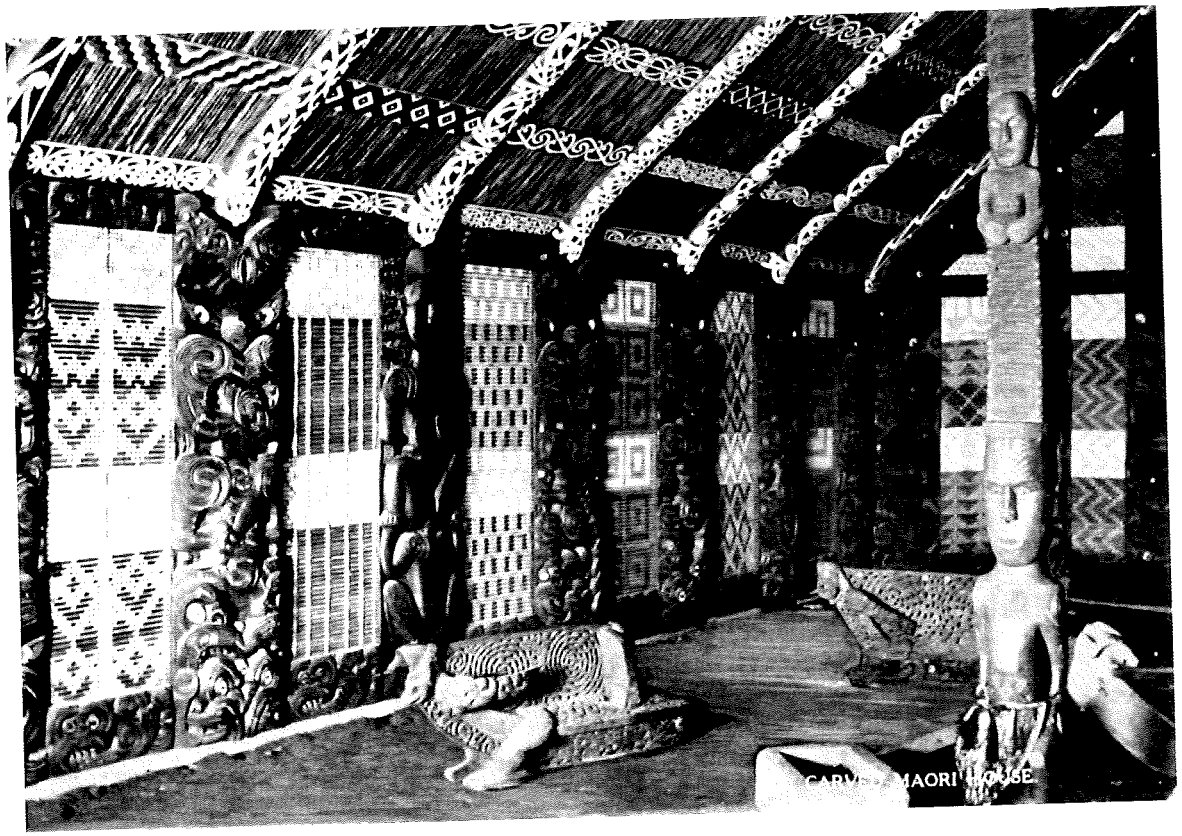

Figure 5.4 "Carved Maori House", postcard depicting the carved, woven and painted interior of Nelson's house, Rauru, between 1900-1904. The first poupou from the left graphically illustrates Whakaotirangi with her basket of kumara. Likewise, the third poupou from the left illustrates Maui entering Hinenui-te-Po. Carved by Ngati Tarawhai expert Tene Waitere in 1898-1899 (Postcard: author's collection)

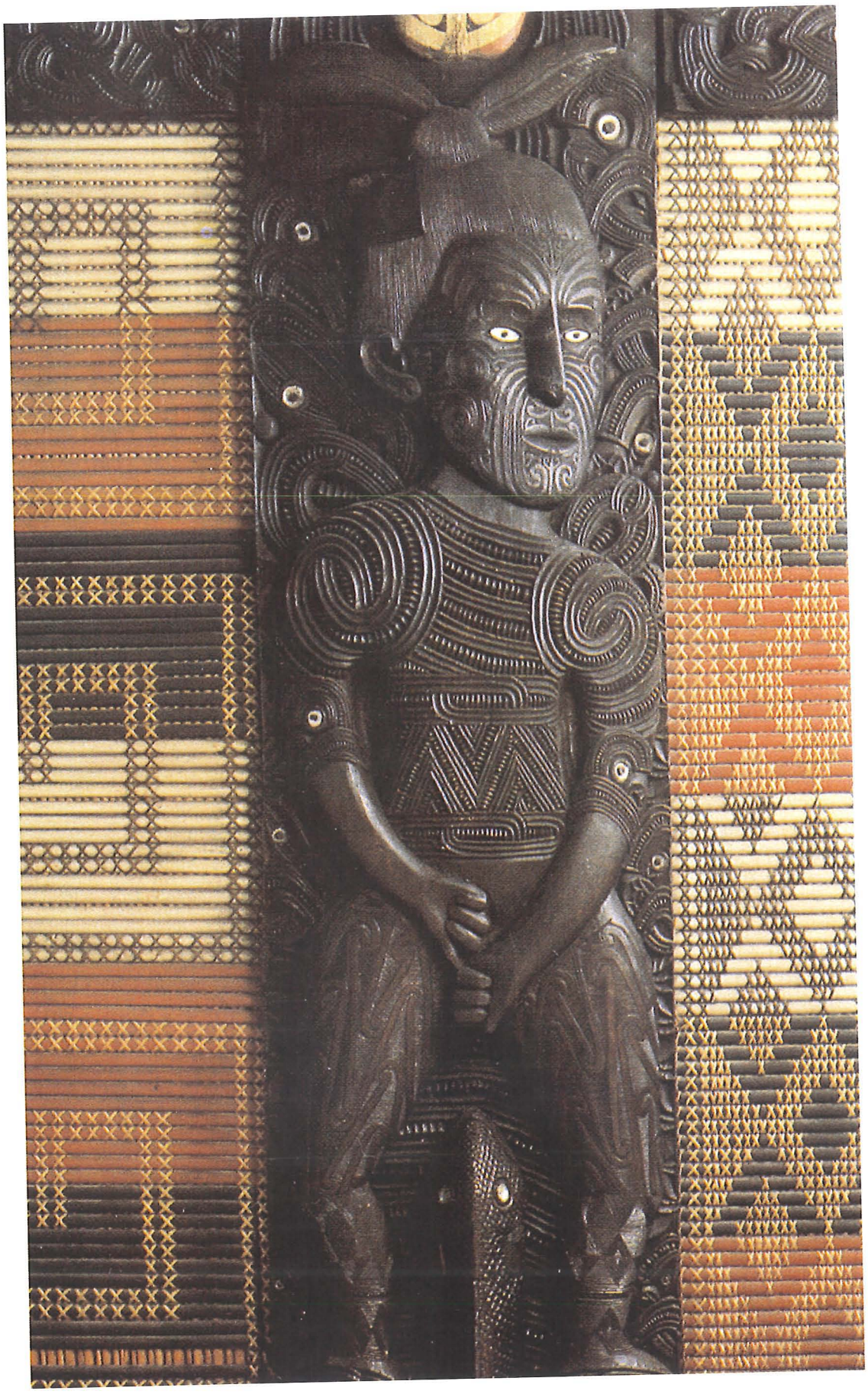

Figure 5.5 Poupou from Rauru house depicting Maui fishing up the north island, Te Ika a Maui (the fish of Maui), carved by Ngati Tarawhai expert Tene Waitere in 1898-1899 (Photograph: Hamburgisches Museum fur Volkerkunde)

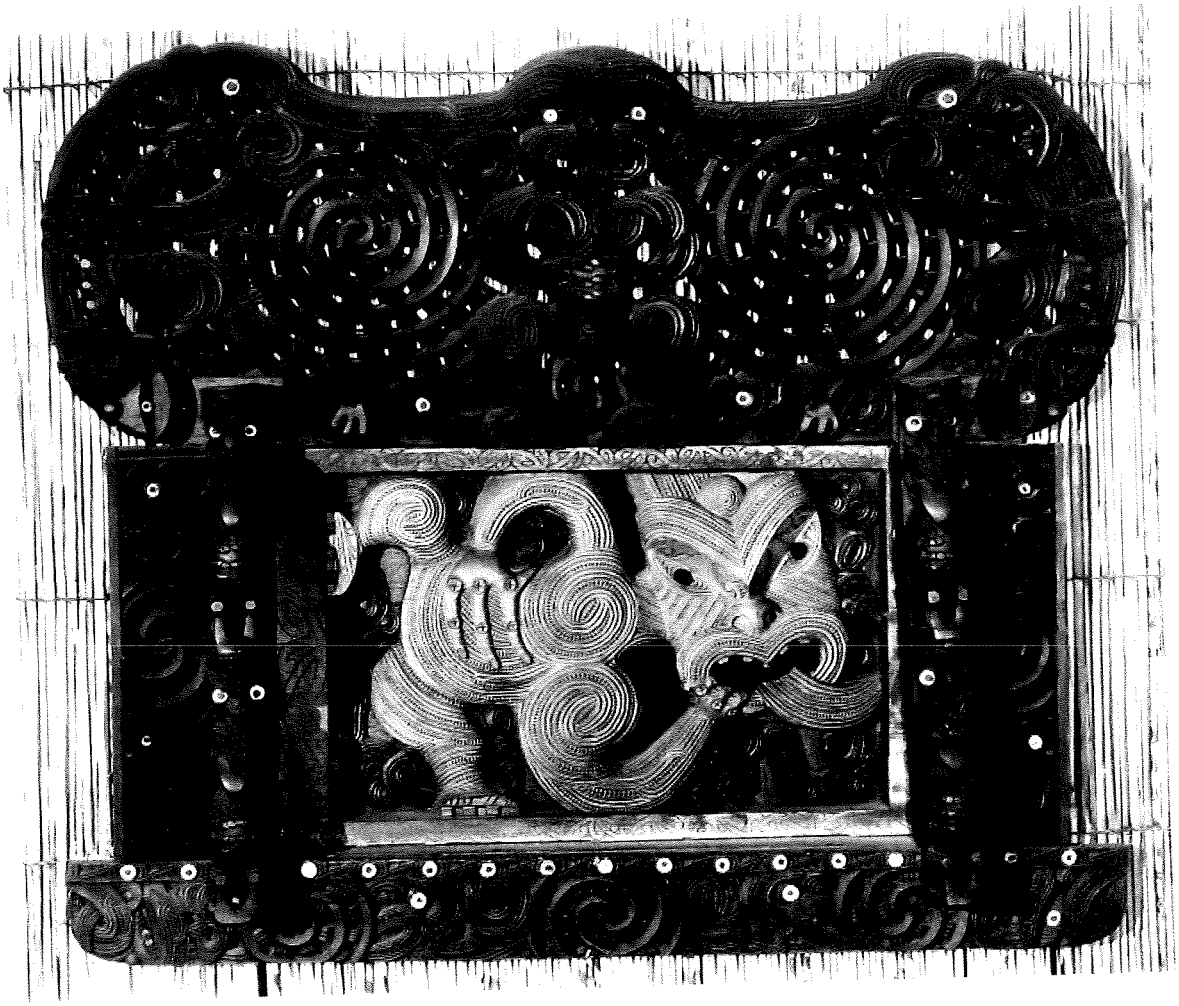

Figure 5.6 Window shutter from Rauru house depicting Hatupatu escaping from Kurangaituku (depicted on the door), carved by Ngati Tarawhai expert Tene Waitere in 1898-1899 (Photograph: Hamburgisches Museum fur Volkerkunde)

Local guides were also likely to have known the ancestral accounts depicted in Rauru through oral history, and for those who could read perhaps also from Grey's publication which was available in Maori and English[19]. Given the highly pictorial nature of many of the carvings, Neich suggests Rauru provided an ideal illustrative setting in which guides could recount such narratives to visiting tourists (Neich 2001: 201). Lending support to Neich's hypothesis Makereti, a hugely popular local guide since the Duke's visit, published the same ancestral accounts illustrated so graphically in Rauru in her guidebook, *Maggie's Guide* (1905), suggesting guides recounted such narratives to tourists.

Despite evident popularity, the presence of Rauru at Whakarewarewa was short lived[20]. In 1901, Nelson wrote to the manager of the tourist department at Rotorua, T. E. Donne, requesting to lease an area of land on the road approaching Whakarewarewa on which to erect Rauru, to "keep alive and retain the knowledge of various old-time arts such as wood carving, weaving and c." which would be "most attractive to tourists"[21]. The land was already leased to L. D. Nathan and company, and Nelson's request was declined. A year later Nelson offered Rauru to the government for £1200, noting that £150-200 could be earned per annum in entry fees to the house[22]. Given the considerable effort and expense that Nelson endured to erect Rauru, it is not clear why he should decide to sell the house just two years after opening. However, his decision to sell came at the time when he was unable to obtain a private lease and suggests he was not willing to operate his business venture on Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao land at Whakarewarewa.

At this time, the tourist department had already embarked upon a similar scheme, building an "old time Maori fortified pa" in the government reserve (adjacent to Whakarewarewa village), intended to preserve and perpetuate Maori "handicrafts" and "the picturesque element in native life"[23] so vital to the tourism industry. With this financial undertaking underway, the department declined

[19] The distinction is in fact blurred. Grey's publication is a recording of the Arawa oral history and some wider Maori ancestral narratives given to him by Ngati Rangiwewehi (Te Arawa) scholar Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke.
[20] Although standing at Whakarewarewa for less than four years, Rauru is well represented in postcard and historical photograph archives.
[21] NA MS, TO, 1, 51, 1903/229 'Nelson's Carved House, Whakarewarewa'
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1902, H-2: 15

Nelson's offer suggesting the price was too high. In accordance with the Antiquities Act, this left Nelson free to sell his carved house to the highest bidder. By 1904 Rauru had been sold to a German dealer, and exported to Hamburg[24].

That same year, Nelson obtained carvings for another house, Nuku-Te-Apiapi, to be erected on the site adjacent to the Geyser Hotel for L D Nathan and Company. Unlike Rauru the poupou carvings formed a complete set, depicting Ngati Rangitihi (Arawa) ancestors in a heavily abstracted style. However, Nelson did commission new carvings for the door and window and once again Tene Waitere carved these pieces in a similarly innovative naturalistic and graphic style, illustrating the regional narrative of Hatupatu in a moment of action, his body and shoulders twisting in torsion as he ran away from Kurangaituku (Neich 2001: 211).

Perhaps taking inspiration from Nelson, in 1905 T. E. Donne employed the same Ngati Tarawhai experts to carve him a house, the forerunner of a number of model houses produced by Ngati Tarawhai carvers for European patrons (Neich 2001: 213). In Donne's house, Tene Waitere incorporated many of his innovative graphic poupou designs first seen in Rauru, but with an even greater playfulness (*ibid*) and he added a new door and window design. These illustrated another famous regional Arawa narrative, Tutanekai was depicted playing his flute on the door, and Hinemoa on the window, with her gourd floats swimming across Lake Rotorua toward the sound of Tutanekai's flute (*ibid*: 214-5). Known to possibly every tourist to Rotorua as the region's great amour, Donne, who expressed a personal desire to preserve a romantically conceived pre-European Maori past[25], perhaps prompted this design himself.

The second fully carved house at Whakarewarewa, Nuku-Te-Apiapi, opened with great ceremony in 1906 (Neich 2001: 210) soon becoming incorporated into guides' tours[26] and remained there for the next thirty years. The popularity of Rauru and Nuku-Te-Apiapi would have demonstrated to Maori the premium European patrons and tourists placed upon carving and weaving and the rendition of distant ancestral histories in a legendary folkloric manner, epitomised in Grey's publication

[24] Acquired by the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg, in 1910, Rauru was placed on display in a specially made building from 1915 and remains there today.
[25] 'The Maori', scrapbook by T E Donne, c. 1900 (ATL MS qMS-0622)
[26] 'A Trip to Rotorua', unpublished manuscript by Judge Bright Wilson, 1906 (Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum Archives).

(1856)[27]. Positive evaluation of the handmade had been occurring in Britain (and in Europe more generally) since the 1870s, fostered by a revivalist Arts and Crafts movement. Proponents of the movement denounced industrialisation and mechanised production for debasing art and craft production (Olssen 1995: 61), advocating the consumption of well-designed, handmade products in a nationally distinctive style. These values were intended to discourage imports, boost domestic sales and, by making artistic quality a core value in the production of goods for sale, improve the employment conditions of practitioners (Callen 1979: 214).

Emigrants to New Zealand in the late nineteenth century influenced by Arts and Crafts ideals and values in Britain and Europe, with an anti-industrial taste for the picturesque, the natural and the handmade, would be predisposed to find Maori handcraft skills, such as carving and weaving appealing. Admiration of these skills, in conjunction with a peculiarly local nostalgic romance with 'Maoriland', and a sympathetic admiration for the 'noble Maori race' fostered through guidebooks, folkloric publications and admiring accounts of royal visits, could only encourage visitors to Rotorua to visit carved houses and perhaps also to purchase or commission carved and woven items to take home with them[28]. To capitalise on popular interest, and develop a distinctively different national tourist attraction, the tourist department had been engaged in its own arts and crafts style revivalist project: the construction of an 'old time' (pre-European) model pa (fortified settlement).

5.4 State patronage and the reconstruction of a model pa

The tourist department encountered difficulties almost immediately in its revivalist project, facing criticism from Maori and European war veterans not least because an historic pa site, Rotowhio, had been "totally obliterated in preparing the site for the

[27] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, many Maori meetinghouses were minimally carved and some were not carved at all but brightly painted and decorated with new imported materials, such as wallpaper and linoleum. For a detailed history of Maori painting traditions and their application to nineteenth century Maori meetinghouses see Neich (1994).

[28] Neich (2001) provides numerous examples of models made for European patrons; and Petersen (2001) illustrates interiors of settler homes carved with Maori designs and furnishings. Both demonstrate the inflection of arts and crafts ideals along peculiarly local trajectories, encouraged by a romance for things Maori fostered through folklore, guidebooks, travel writing and royal visit accounts discussed in this and previous chapters.

present modern building"[29]. The engineer in charge, Laurence Birks, soon found the task of removing all European influences a problematic one as throughout the nineteenth century pa building had come to incorporate musket-fighting features[30]. For his inability to exclude such "undesirable" features, he criticised the competence of his construction manager, Alfred Patiti Warbrick, and referred him to Hamilton's *Maori Art*, White's *Ancient History of the Maori*, and Angas's *New Zealanders Illustrated,* for guidance in the accurate reconstruction of pre-European Maori pa.

Frustrated with a local Maori lack of concern to remove modern influences, Birks reported to his seniors, "The Maoris (*sic*) themselves have no conception of the importance in such matters of excluding modern tendencies unless supervised by an enthusiast"[31]. His opinion was no doubt confirmed when Takaanui Tarakawa of Ngati Rangiwewehi (an Arawa elder considered to be an authority on history, and consulted by the department on matters pertaining to pa construction) designed a large silk flag for the pa, to be hoisted on a flagpole beside the whare runanga (meeting house) whenever important visitors were received.

In internal memo's, the department considered his design (a New Zealand Ensign with the ancestral name, "Tuhoromatakaka-a-Tamatekapua", the firstborn son of Tamatekapua, captain of the Arawa canoe[32]) inappropriate for display on an ancient pa. However the official response was that a "crown and certain lettering" could not be complied with, "as it is illegal to deface either the Blue Ensign of the Royal Navy Reserve, or the New Zealand Ensign, by placing any sign, representation of letters thereon"[33]; a contradictory position, given the Duke of Edinburgh's presentation of a flag to Tuhourangi in 1870, complete with crown and lettering.

[29] Letter from Captain Gilbert Mair to Sir Joseph Ward, 1904 (NA MS TO 1, 56, 1904/288 Part 2, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa, 1904-9')
[30] *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* 1908, H-2: 22
[31] Letter from Birks to the General Manager, Tourist Department, Wellington, June 4, 1907 (NA MS TO 1, 56, 1904/288 Part 2, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa, 1904-9')
[32] Letter from Takaanui Tarakawa to Thomas Mackenzie, Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts, May 11 1909 (NA MS TO 1, 56, 1904/288, Part 2, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa, 1904-9')
[33] Letter from B M Wilson, Manager, Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, to T E Donne, Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, Wellington, September 7, 1910 (NA MS TO 1, 56, 1904/288, Part 3, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa, 1909-10')

Takaanui Tarakawa also recommended the purchase of tapu (sacred, powerful) stones to build a tuaahu kauhanga and a tuaahu tapatai[34], altars where ceremonies were conducted to preserve the mana-tapu of a pa and secure the protection of the people. To prove the antiquity of the stones, he provided Birks with information pertaining to their ancestry from Ngati Whakaue elder, Aperahama Tamai Whakangaro, the custodian of a particularly sacred stone:

> This stone used to be buried at Pa Kotore when Rangitihi and his children lived there and was brought to Maketu by Tamai Whakangaro. When Maketu Pa fell and the great chiefs of Ngati Whakaue, Haupapa and Ngahuru were killed the stone was taken by Ngaiterangi to their Pa, Te Tumu, to be used as a sharpening stone, for sharpening greenstone weapons and ornaments. But when Ngaiterangi were defeated by Te Arawa and Te Tumu Pa fell the stone went back to Ngati Whakaue and went into the possession of Tamai Whakangaro until he died and it has descended from him to Aperahama Tamai Whakangaro, of whom I now asked for it[35].

The department rejected Tarakawa's proposals outright:

> I doubt very much whether the stones have any historic value at all, and without some better authority than the mere statement of a Maori I am not prepared to recommend any expenditure of this kind in future. I think that any money that is available for improvements to the Whaka Pa would be very much better expended on buildings and carvings to make the Pa more representative of a complete Maori kainga than is at present the case[36].

In addition to the dismissive attitude expressed towards these particular elders, and towards Maori people more generally, these negotiations suggest an aesthetic preference for carving and Maori architectural and ornamental designs, rather than plainer forms of material culture associated with more esoteric aspects of Maori beliefs. Even so, revenue-earning capacity remained the main consideration throughout the project: questions of historical accuracy and aesthetic quality prevailed only where they were economically feasible[37].

To keep carving costs to a minimum, only one or two specialist carvers were employed at a time. Generally speaking they, as all specialist carvers patronised by

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[34] Letter from L Birks, Engineer, to CRC Robieson, Director, Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, February 24, 1910 (NA MS TO 1, 56, TO 1, 56, 1904/288 Part 3, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa, 1909-1910)

[35] NA MS TO 1, 56, Part 3, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa, 1910'

[36] Letter of May 18, 1910, C R C Robieson, Director, Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Tourists, to T E Donne, Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts (NA MS TO 1, 56, 1904/288 Part 3, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa, 1909-1910')

[37] Correspondences from L Birks to T E Donne (NA MS TO 1, 55, 1904/288, Part 1, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa 1902-4')

Europeans in the early twentieth century, were paid lowly wages and only upon completion of a commission (Neich 2001: 212). In contrast to specific attempts to keep carving costs down, large whariki (fine floor mats) were snapped up at a price of "4/- each...very low indeed"[38], despite the considerable skill and hours of collective labour required to create them (figure 5.7). This suggests a discrepancy between market values for carving and weaving existed by the early 1900s.

Cost cutting also applied to families engaged to dwell in the model pa and perform demonstrations for tourists, such as growing kumara (sweet potato) to cook in the hot springs. When these families requested pay[39] they were promptly informed:

> This Pa was not erected for the purpose of providing moneys for the Maoris (*sic*), but for the purpose of making Whakarewarewa and Rotorua more attractive to visitors. The government is already providing you and the other Maoris mentioned with whares (*sic*) free of charge and it is regretted that no further concessions can be granted[40].

Similarly, the cost of the hakari (elaborate meal) and other activities required for the opening ceremony of the model pa were to be provided by the Maori participants. Compared to the elaborate opening ceremonies organised and funded by Charles Nelson during the opening of Rauru in 1900 (chapter three, page 174), and the lavish entertainments provided by Maori for royal visitors (see chapter four), state patronage was a considerably meaner affair.

Not only was state patronage mean; it was frequently belittling. No more so than in Birks' invitation to his superiors to attend the ceremony: "It would be nice", he wrote, "if it could be attended by yourself or the Minister and a little function made of it"[41]. By contrast when the tourist department opened its grand and impressive sanatorium, the Bathhouse (figure 3.16), in 1908, Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao opened their newly carved ancestral meetinghouse, Wahiao, on Te Pakira

[38] TO 1, 56, 1904/288 Part 2, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa, 1904-9'
[39] Letters from Haki Tamati and Tarakawa Taranui to Thomas McKenzie, Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts, December 1909 (NA MS TO 1, 56, 1904/288 Part 2, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa, 1904-9')
[40] Letter from T Mackenzie, Minister, to T H Tarakawa, regarding request to earn income in model pa, February 18, 1910 (NA MS TO 1, 56, 1904/288 Part 3, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa 1909-10')
[41] Letter from L Birks to C.R.C. Robieson, General Manager, Tourist and Health Resorts Department, July 9, 1909 (NA MS TO 1, 56, 1904/288 Part 3, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa 1909-10')

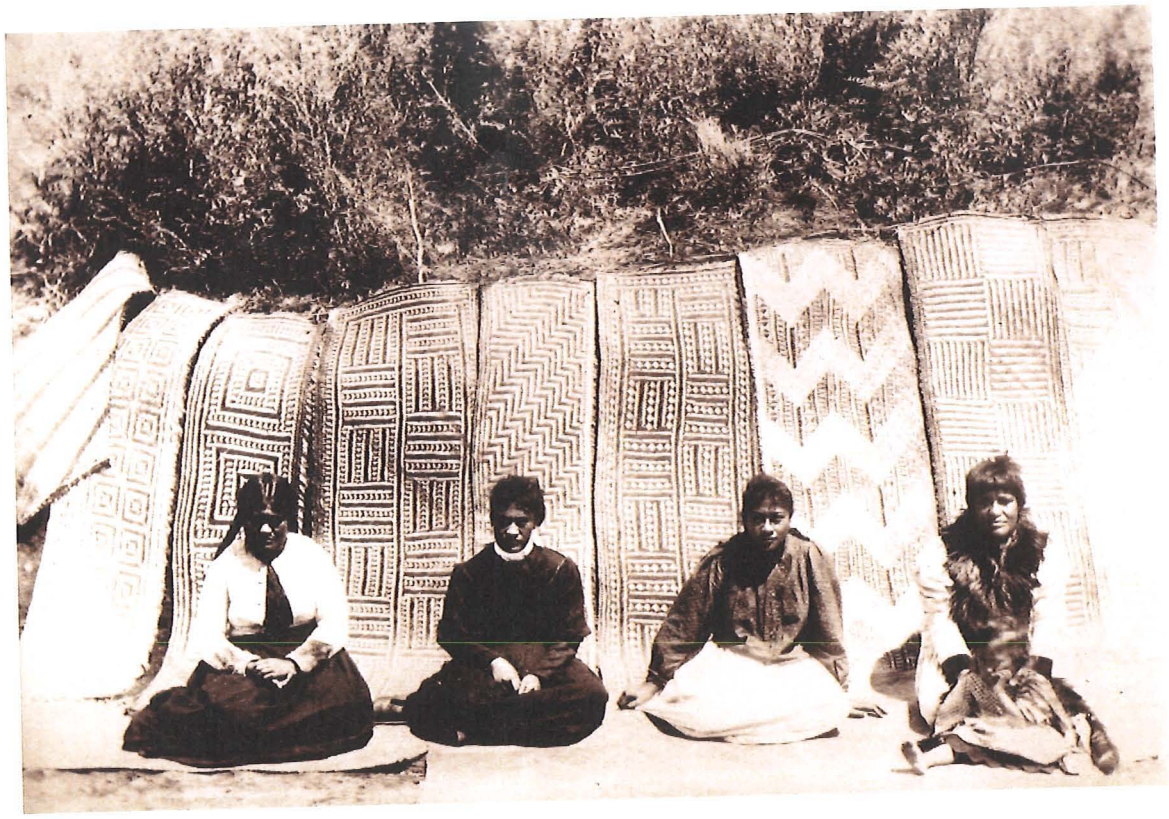


Figure 5.7 Whariki - large finely woven mats to cover the floor when receiving guests - displayed by a group of Arawa women, Rotorua, early 1900s (Photograph: Alexander Turnbull Library)

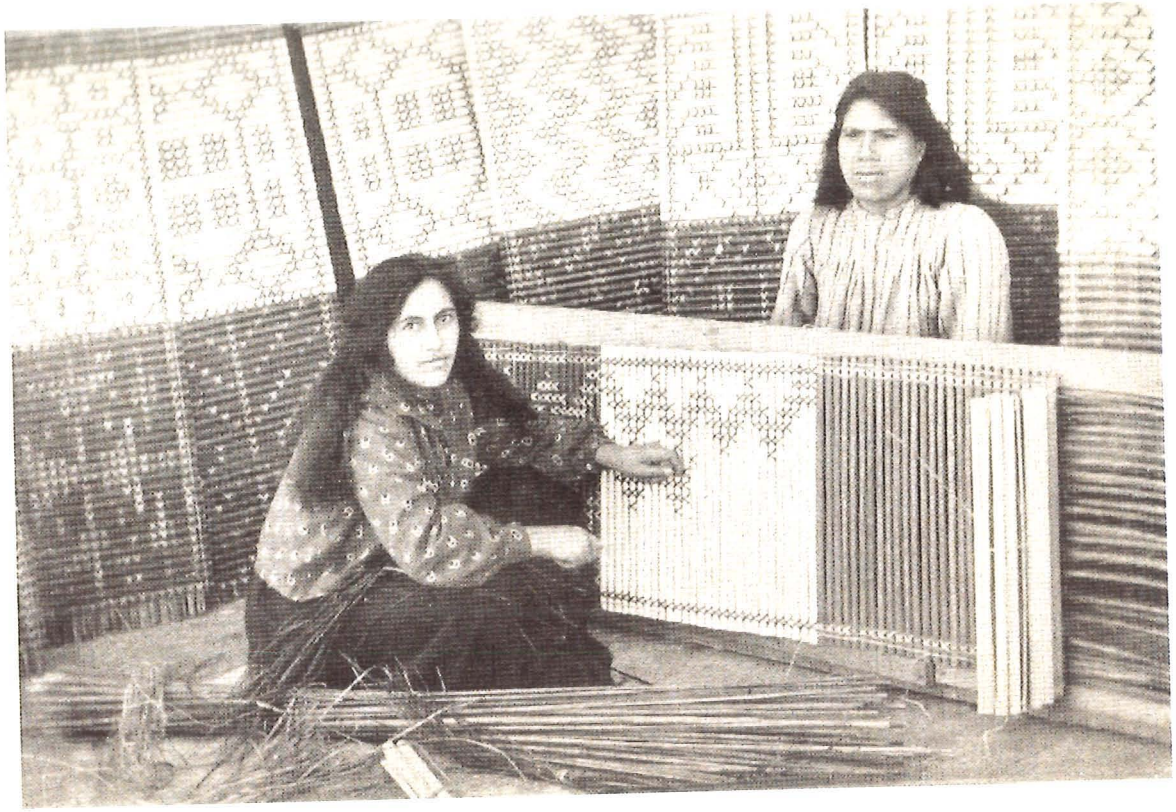


Figure 5.8 Bella Papakura and friend work on tukutuku panels, possibly for Rauru, Nuku-Te-Apiapi or Rangitihi, c. 1897-1906 (Makereti 1938: plate 11)

Marae, Whakarewarewa[42] (figure 3.26), and invited ministers to attend as their guests. During the ceremony, generous presentations were made,

> Taupopoki presented Sir Joseph and Lady Ward [the prime minister and his wife] with a patu paraoa called 'Awhituri'. An heirloom belonging to our family for six generations, and we asked him to accept it as a token of love and appreciation at their being present at the opening of Wahiao. He returned the speech and said it would always be kept and handed down as an heirloom by his family[43].

The model pa was intended to attract tourists to the region and expand the state tourism industry[44], and Maori artworks, customs, skills and people were crucial to its construction and running, yet the manner in which Maori were employed reveals little concern for their social and economic well-being. Whilst the arts and crafts revival in Britain had been underpinned by a socialism that sought to change the economic conditions of arts and crafts practitioners, the tourist department, having cut Maori employment costs at every opportunity, failed to meet up to these ideals.

5.5 Institutional patronage, weaving and design

In 1906 Auckland Institute and Museum proposed to erect a carved house in "strict accordance with old Maori style", following "old Maori designs"[45]. The carvings for the proposed meetinghouse, Rangitihi, were obtained from Waata Taranui, elder brother of the late Te Pokiha Taranui of Ngati Pikiao (Arawa)[46]. Rangitihi had stood at Taheke on the north side of Lake Rotoiti until 1886, when ash from the Tarawera eruption broke the roof[47]. The house was dismantled and relocated to Maketu to be re-erected, but this didn't eventuate and in 1901 the house carvings were purchased by Auckland museum[48].

In addition to further carvings commissioned for the house and completed in 1905, curator Thomas Cheeseman required a complete set of woven tukutuku panels. Through Nelson he arranged the work with Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao elder Mita

[42] This was the second house of the name Wahiao to be built on Te Pakira marae, but it was the first to be embellished with carvings (Stafford 1988: 24).
[43] Makereti, personal diary, August 14, 1908 (Private collection)
[44] *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* 1909, H-2: 20
[45] *New Zealand Herald* August 14, 1906
[46] Rangitihi was a Ngati Hinekiri and Ngati Tarawhai ancestral meetinghouse house carved between 1867 and 1871 by Ngati Tarawhai and Ngati Pikiao experts (Roger Neich, 'Rangitihi file', unpublished MS, Auckland Museum).
[47] Lake Rotoiti is located on the map given in chapter one, figure 1.2.
[48] *Ibid.*

Taupopoki, Bella Papakura and others of their people at Whakarewarewa[49] (figure 5.8)[50]. Correspondences between Mita Taupopoki and Thomas Cheeseman[51] reveal similar employment conditions for those weaving the tukutuku panels to the Ngati Tarawhai carvers working on this and previous houses for European patrons (Neich 2001: 212-3). Most notably, low remuneration paid only upon completion of the entire commission, a condition that left Mita Taupopoki, like the Ngati Tarawhai carvers, in an awkward position of having to repeatedly request small payments towards their subsistence[52]. Whilst the restoration of Rangitihi to old Maori design might prove a great visitor attraction, as with the model pa, employment conditions suggest little concern for the welfare of skilled practitioners and hence the future viability of such skills.

To make the situation worse in 1906 a fire in Nelson's house destroyed twenty-seven of twenty-eight panels, over two months work. With some urgency Mita Taupopoki requested the tender be given to their people again and not to anyone else, suggesting some amount of competition for such work[53]. This would entail further months of work without pay, yet despite these economic conditions weaving work was postponed when important meetings and funerary ceremonies took place[54].

To convince Cheeseman to give Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao the commission anew, Mita Taupopoki had insisted on the quality of their panelling work, adding that he would name each panel design[55]. This suggests Cheeseman sought names or other such information pertaining to old panel designs. In a subsequent study of tukutuku

[49] Auckland Museum Annual Report, 1904-5: 8

[50] In correspondences to T E Donne, Makereti mentions her sister Bella's involvement in making panels for Rauru and Rangitihi ('T E Donne Scrapbook relating to Maggie Papakura', ATL MS qMS-0621, c. 1900-1920), and in correspondence to Cheeseman regarding Rangitihi, Mita Taupopoki also mentions Bella's work on both houses (AIM MS 'Correspondence to Accounts the erection of Maori House, January-October 1906')

[51] AIM MS 'Correspondence to Accounts the erection of Maori House, January-October 1906'

[52] See Neich for an extended analysis of European patronage of Maori carvers, and the poor pay afforded them (Neich 2001: 195-231)

[53] Having commenced the commission in November 1905, Mita Taupopoki continued to request payments in June, July and August of 1906 (AIM MS: 'Correspondence to Accounts the erection of Maori House. January-October 1906')

[54] Telegram from Mita Taupopoki to Cheeseman, June 5, 1906 (AIM MS: 'Correspondence to Accounts the erection of Maori House. January-October 1906')

[55] Letter from Mita Taupopoki to Thomas Cheeseman, February 3, 1906, in Maori translated into English (AIM MS: 'Correspondence to Accounts the erection of Maori House. January-October 1906')

design, including panels made for Rangitihi, Te Rangi Hiroa pointed out the difficulty with which any line could be drawn between "original Maori patterns and those of post-European date" (Buck 1921: 460), as new motifs were constantly being introduced and combined with existing ones to create innovative designs. However, he set out some more general distinctions that are significant to the argument I want to develop here concerning design and European patronage.

In earlier tukutuku, designs evolved out of the patterns formed by kiekie fibres worked in cross-stitch to lash kakaho (reeds) to stakes, forming a panel. Kiekie therefore fulfilled a joint purpose – they acted as bindings and could be worked into a variety of patterns across the surface of the panel (see figure 5.5). Pattern was literally bound up in the construction of the panel. As such, designs were materially limited to geometric forms. Pattern designs consisted of one motif repeated across the panel, and probably evolved either from mat plaiting designs or on the panel. Design names were typically drawn from visual resemblances observed between the pattern and features of the environment, for example, roimata toroa (albatross tears), or niho taniwha (shark teeth) (*ibid*: 457-460).

In the later nineteenth century, various manufactured materials were used in place of kakaho and kiekie. Fluted boards were used to evoke kakaho, and criss-cross patterns were painted on them to represent kiekie bindings. In some nineteenth and early twentieth century houses patterned linoleum was used to decorate meetinghouse interiors, its striking geometric patterns reminiscent of tukutuku designs (*ibid*; Neich 1994: 101). Today holes are drilled into panels made of fluted board, and cross-stitches are worked through the holes for visual effect rather than a binding function (see chapter three, figure 3.10).

As well as providing new construction materials, from the nineteenth century a multiplicity of imported manufactured goods provided inspiration for new motifs. For example, geometric patterns on linoleum provided inspiration for tukutuku designs, which were then given Maori names such as pekapeka (Buck 1921: 469). Mumu was another popular pattern, a chequered design inspired by the draughtboard that appears across a variety of forms from tukutuku panels (*ibid*: 462) to woven cloaks (figure 5.9). Further design influences came from the chevrons and other geometric patterns evolved in taniko weaving, and in the popular game of whai (cat's cradle) (*ibid*). These and many other such multidirectional design inspirations,

Figure 5.9 Kahu Huruhuru, kiwi feather cloak with chequerboard design, made from brown kiwi feathers, muka (prepared flax) and orange bird feathers, early twentieth century. Made by Makuini Fenwick and her Aunt, 90cm x 130cm, Te Whare Taonga O Te Arawa, Rotorua Museum 1989.53

translating across a multiplicity of forms and surfaces, were ongoing in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and can be seen in the highly innovative garment designs among presentations made to the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901, highlighted in chapter four.

Despite Cheeseman's antiquarian preferences, in addition to designs based on motif repetition to form a pattern, the weavers introduced innovative pictorial motifs into the Rangitihi panels. One panel graphically depicts a meetinghouse and is named Rangitihi (Buck 1921: 463). Another, named Aka Matua, depicts a Christian cross, surmounted on a base (figures 5.10 and 5.11). Aka Matua is the firm root by which the ancestor Tawhaki climbed to the sky to find his daughter Arahuta, born of his otherworldly wife. Te Arawa people are likely to have known of this and other ancestral feats through song, incantation and oratory and, from 1856, through Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*. It is possible that in their desire to exclude 'modern tendencies', when European patrons such as Cheeseman insisted upon pre-European designs with names that would demonstrate their antiquity – and ancestral names with associated narratives would meet such a demand – they may have encouraged the weaving of innovative pictorial designs, in addition to patterns, that depicted ancestral narratives thereby revealing their 'antiquity'.

In his analysis of the Rangitihi panels, Te Rangi Hiroa noted that since the introduction of Christianity many Maori people came to regard the cross as the route to the afterlife (Buck 1921: 470). Hence the use of a cross to depict Aka Matua suggests a translation of the firm root, the route to the ancestral dimension, into the Christian cross. Whilst the patron's insistence upon a name of antiquity may in part explain the creation of innovative pictorial tukutuku designs depicting ancestors, this cannot account for the form of the designs themselves, as the museum as patron sought 'old' Maori designs. Christian iconography, being post-European, would not have been suggested by Cheeseman, and must surely have come from the inspirations of the weavers themselves.

New design ideas may have been drawn from cross-stitching work in other mediums, such as tapestry and embroidery, taught to young Maori women and girls in mission schools since the mid nineteenth century (see chapter two, page 88-89). As art forms, tapestry and embroidery were strongly associated with female domesticity and Christian virtue. Accordingly houses and crosses formed popular

Figure 5.10 Tukutuku panel from Rangitihi house depicting Aka Matua in the form of a Christian cross, woven by Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao in 1905-6, 114cm x 38cm, Auckland Museum collection, 5152 number three, top

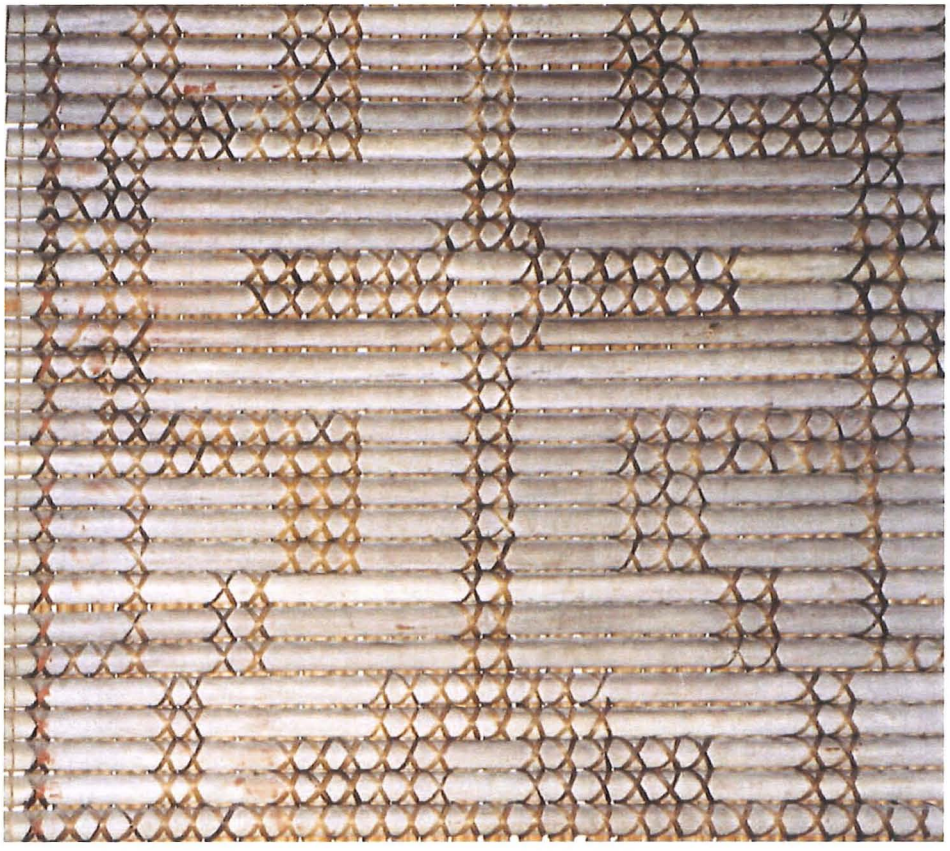


Figure 5.11 Detail of the Aka Matua design, a Christian cross on a base, Auckland Museum collection, 5152 number three, top

motifs, similar to the cross motif of the Aka Matua panel design, and the meetinghouse motif of the Rangitihi design. Given that longstanding associations were likely to have been inculcated between cross-stitch, needlework and Christianity, these connections perhaps assisted in a logical translation of 'sacred' embroidery motifs into cross-stitched tukutuku imagery intended to evoke the presence and the mana-tapu – the sacredness, divine authority and efficacy – of ancestors.

Whereas missionary teachings and the church may have influenced design inspirations in more rural settings, in settled towns new schools of design were emerging, influencing popular taste and encouraging the borrowing of Maori motifs and imagery to form a distinctive colonial national design style. I consider some of the possible significances of these borrowings and adaptations in the following section.

5.6 The Kensington School, popular taste and colonial design

During the Arts and Crafts movement in Britain, a specific school of design emerged in London known as the Kensington School[56]. From around the 1870s, graduates of this school began to teach at schools of design opening up in major settled towns of colonial New Zealand, such as Christchurch, Wellington, Dunedin and Auckland (Calhoun 2000: 20). Basic tenets espoused by the school infused into colonial design schools as they opened in New Zealand, influencing the form of new kinds of manufactured souvenir memorabilia.

In Britain 'The Kensington School' had advocated nationally distinctive designs that would encourage domestic sales. To localise designs the school promoted taking inspiration from native flora and fauna. These designs should be simplified into abstract two-dimensional motifs that were easily repeatable across surfaces to create decorative patterns. As such the Kensington style was ideally suited to commercial applications across any number of different forms (fabric, wallpaper, tiles, china, jewellery and such). A fashionable example of this style around the turn of the twentieth century is 'art nouveau', typified by elongated

[56] A government-subsidised drawing and training school established in 1857 in London's South Kensington Museum, expanding to other schools around the country throughout the later nineteenth century (Harvey and Press 1993: 19).

rectilinear forms with flowing curvilinear elements and tight, precise abstract floral ornaments[57].

Designers and manufacturers in New Zealand seeking to localise the appeal of their products to the domestic tourism market could draw from native flora and fauna, and, by extension, from aspects of Maori design[58]. Maori designs – themselves frequently inspired by the environment and composed of abstract two-dimensional motifs that cover surfaces (Buck 1921) – were formally speaking a 'good fit' with basic Kensington School principles. Particularly translatable into art nouveau style were kowhaiwhai designs, abstracted from the unfurling tendrils of plants into flowing curvilinear elements and painted in a repeating fashion across two-dimensional planar surfaces, such as canoe paddles, canoes and subsequently meetinghouse rafters and other surfaces (for example, see figure 5.12).

Europeans have consistently admired Kowhaiwhai and other aspects of Maori design since the earliest Maori/European encounters[59]. Positive accounts of Maori design in circulation since the late eighteenth century would have prepared European audiences, including Kensington students, to accept Owen Jones's subsequent elevation of Maori painted, carved and tattooed designs to his *Grammar of Ornament* (1856), a favourite text of the Kensington School. Specific articles on Maori design were later published in *The Studio*, the primary journal of the Kensington movement (C J Praetorius's 'Maori Wood Carving' in 1900, and 'Maori Houses' in 1901), recommended in the newly established arts and crafts schools of settler towns in New Zealand, incorporating Maori designs into a local movement (Calhoun 2000: 73-75).

Students in Britain, including some New Zealanders travelling 'home' to study (Calhoun 2000), could observe such designs directly on the many carved and woven items presented to the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901 that were displayed in an exhibition of royal gifts at the school's South Kensington Museum in 1902. For

[57] In Britain designs for fabric and wallpapers by Liberty and Company of Regent Street, London, epitomise this style, as promoted in their popular catalogue *Dress and Decoration* (1905).
[58] These borrowings were typically couched in a more generalised (and frequently romanticised) sense of Maori being immersed in their natural world compared to industrialised city dwellers.
[59] On October 12, 1767, a few days after first direct encounters between Maori and Europeans, artist Sydney Parkinson observed, "paddles...curiously stained with a red colour, disposed into various strange figures...the whole together was no contemptible workmanship" (1773: 90). His sensitive depiction of painted kowhaiwhai designs (illustrated in figure 5.12), as also his renderings of facial ta moko ('tattoo') designs published by Hawkesworth in 1773, are among the most widely circulated images from the European visual archive of exploration (Thomas 1999a: 99).

Figure 5.12 Canoe paddles with painted kowhaiwhai designs, Sydney Parkinson, 1769 (BL ADD MS 23920 F71A)

those living in New Zealand's colonial towns at a remove from Maori communities, inspiration could be drawn from local publications such as Augustus Hamilton's popular series, *Maori Art* (1896-1900); from the numerous Maori items on display in museums, such as Rangitihi house in Auckland Museum; from carved and woven souvenirs for sale in Rotorua; or from a carved model pa constructed as part of the Christchurch international exhibition held in 1906-7.

The Christchurch model pa[60] built under the direction of Augustus Hamilton, director of the colonial museum, comprised carved houses, palisades, ornately carved pataka, a large waharoa (gateway) and other distinctive features of Maori architecture considered to represent a pre-European Maori past (figure 5.13) (Cowan 1910). Maori were invited to live in the pa where, out of the public eye, they performed powhiri ceremonies receiving hundreds of Maori and other visitors (Kernot 1998, 1999). On other occasions, residents of the pa posed for photographs taken by staff of the colonial museum. Wearing piupiu and cloaks with their European garments typically removed or concealed and holding up weaponry from the colonial museum's collections (Neich 2001: 217), in several of these images participants appear rigid, uncomfortable and possibly bemused by such instructions (figure 5.14).

Several authors who have written on political and anthropological implications of the Christchurch exhibition for Maori and European participants, have on the whole tended to be more concerned with specialist interests of professionals directly involved in the revivalist project of the model pa itself. For example, the new political ambitions of Apirana Ngata and others of the Young Maori Party (Kernot 1998), the nation-building ambitions of the colonial government (Dibley 1997), and the anthropological interests of museum director Augustus Hamilton, museum photographer James MacDonald, and ethnologists such as Te Rangi Hiroa/Peter Buck and Elsdon Best (Salmond 2001). Their professional interests in museum and nation building however are not necessarily attributable to the public at large. As the comments written on the postcard illustrated above (figure 5.13) suggest to the contrary:

[60] Carved by Ngati Tarawhai (Te Arawa) experts Tene Waitere, Neke Kapua and Eramiha Neke Kapua (Neich 2001: 215-7).

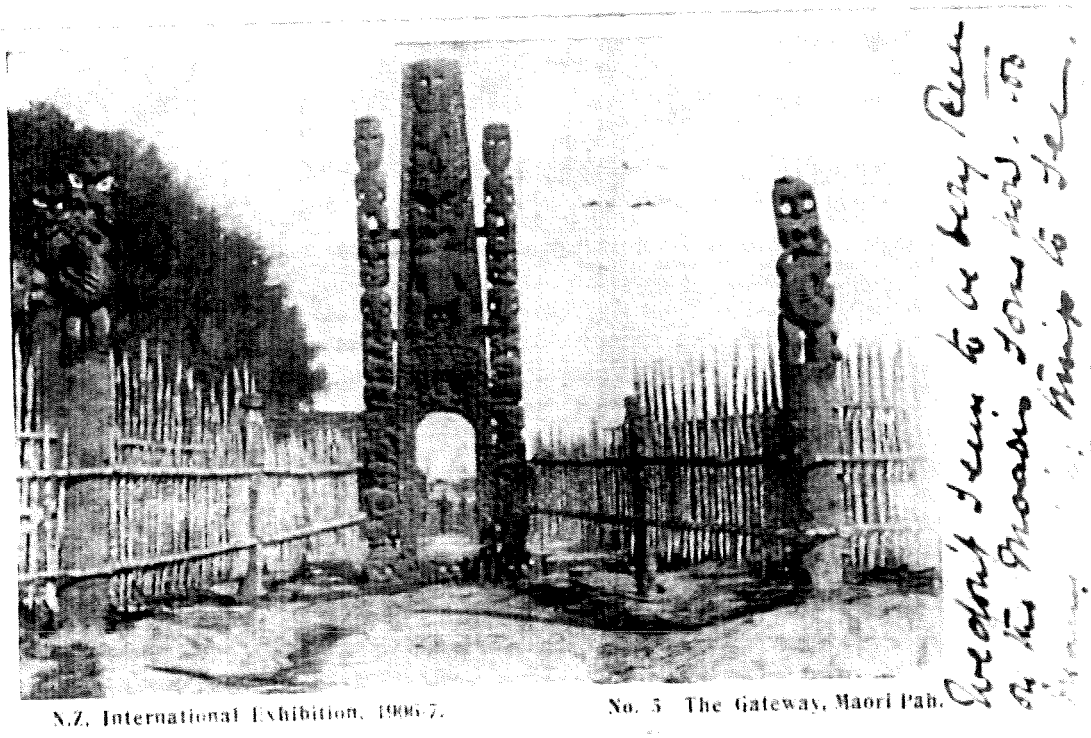


Figure 5.13 "N.Z. International Exhibition, 1906-7", "No. 5 The Gateway. Maori Pah", Christchurch (Postcard: Alexander Turnbull Library)

Figure 5.14 Te Rangi Katukua, Makereti Papakura and Hekemaru Kaiawha pose displaying woven cloaks and holding weaponry, Christchurch model pa, 1906-1907 (Photograph: Alexander Turnbull Library 75251/1)

> "We don't seem to be very keen on the Maoris *(sic)* somehow. Too many other things to see"

Far less attention has been paid to the commercial aspects of what was after all an industrial event. Like many others of its kind staged throughout the British Empire from the mid nineteenth century, the Christchurch exhibition was intended to appeal to and influence popular taste, thereby creating new markets for the things on display.

This exhibition alone attracted almost two million visitors and the British Arts and Crafts section dominated, spreading Kensington School principles and Arts and Crafts ideals from British design schools, and the colonial design schools they fostered, to the wider general public (Calhoun 2000: 119, 200). Their influence can be detected in new souvenir designs emerging from around this period. For example, genres of postcard popular since the late nineteenth century, such as geothermal landscapes and guiding personalities, become extensively redesigned. Photographs are reduced in size and ornamented with decorative borders and surrounds, typically of flora and fauna distinctive of both New Zealand and Britain, positioned side by side. Many are literally framed with picture frames, often inspired by Maori sculptural, carved and painted designs.

Romantic poems and terms of greeting in Maori and English are often added to these graphic, pictorialised designs, lending to the card a specific function: to greet an absent friend, or wish a distant relative a merry Christmas, connecting Britain and New Zealand, or 'Maoriland', despite geographical distance (figures 5.15 and 5.16). Such designs articulate more than a colonial nationality that borrows from aspects of Maori design in order to articulate a sense of indigeneity (Thomas 1999a: 98-111). They fuse this Maori and/or New Zealandness (*ibid*) to Britishness, retaining a sense of connection between colony and imperial homeland whilst at the same time evoking new notions of belonging.

Eye-catching graphic designs could also be commissioned by Rotorua businesses such as a programme of the Rotorua Maori Mission Entertainers (figure 5.17), a Ngati Whakaue concert party based in Ohinemutu and led by Rev. F. A. Bennett, one of several parties operating in Rotorua in the early 1900s. This design borrows from Maori carving, painting and weaving designs, including the distinctive

Figure 5.15 Redesigned postcard of Guide Kathleen, evoking strong connections between Britain and settlers in New Zealand. Note the use of a painted canoe paddle motif, reminiscent of Parkinson's painting (figure 5.12), post 1905 (Author's collection)

Figure 5.16 Redesigned postcard of geysers at Waimangu, linking England (evoked by the rose) to New Zealand (evoked by the hei tiki) and conveying seasonal greetings in English with a popularised Maori term of address, "Kia Ora", post 1905 (Author's collection)

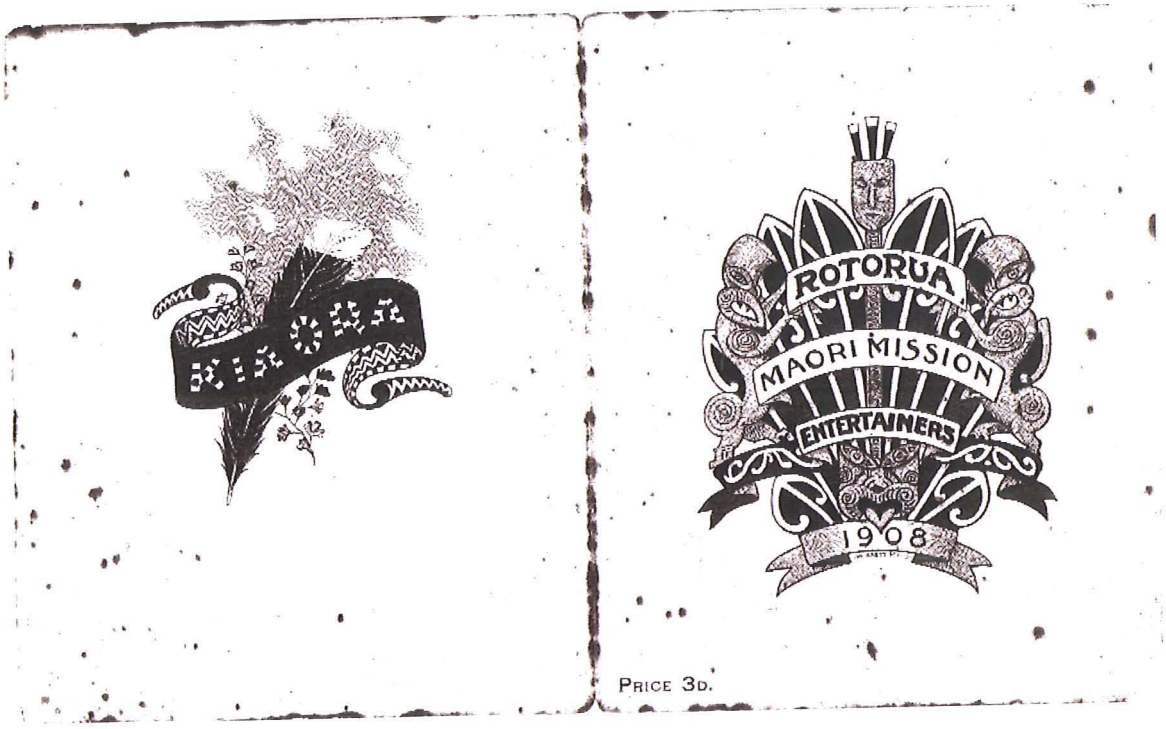


Figure 5.17 Rotorua Maori Mission Entertainers, 1908 , Official performance programme, price 3d (Archival collection, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum)

mangopare (hammerhead shark) motif of Arawa kowhaiwhai painting (the white arrow shapes pointing upwards, on a black background), which have been elongated to evoke an art nouveau style. This fashionable style was likely to appeal to visitors' tastes, hence this programme may have encouraged visitors to attend this concert in preference to others. Such mutually beneficial blending of a settler appreciation for Maori design, and a Maori company providing a service for European visitors appears to have been straightforward and unproblematic at the time. But not all settler interests in Maori design were without contention.

5.7 Antiquities, souvenirs, taste and distaste

The appeal of certain Maori designs to Europeans made them highly collectable, and at times objectionable means were used to obtain the more highly valued items of antiquity, such as hei tiki (nephrite pendants) and moko mokai (tattooed, preserved heads). In 1907 Makereti wrote to Donne complaining of the desecration of tapu urupa (sacred burial grounds) on Motutawa Island where many great ancestors of Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao are buried, often with their ancestral taonga:

> Our natives taking bodies to Motutawa Island for burial found graves dug up parts of the skeletons gone mostly heads...It has grieved us very much for all the people buried on Motutawa Island are our own relatives who have valuable tikis buried with them[61].

The tiki sculptural design had become particularly iconic of Maori culture, and at the same time, of a new sense of colonial nationality, so much so that Donne considered Maori guides to be improperly dressed without them. As a government minister in the tourism department his opinion was an influential one[62].

With nationalist sentiment, Donne expressed concern regarding dealings in Maori antiquities to foreign tourists; a practice still prevalent in the Rotorua district in the early twentieth century regardless of the Antiquities Act of 1901[63]. Yet Donne possessed his own personal collection of nephrite hei tiki, obtained from a number of sources – other collectors, auctions and dealers operating in Britain, New Zealand and the Rotorua area, such as Arthur Iles and Herbert Joseph Heberley (a Maori

[61] Letter from Makereti to Donne, Christmas 1907 (ATL MS qMS-0621); Problems with grave robbing are also noted in Box III, Section K, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum
[62] 'The Maori', scrapbook by T E Donne, c. 1900 (ATL MS qMS-0622)
[63] Letter from T E Donne, to acting Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts, April 9, 1907 (NA MS TO 1, 20, 1901 162/18, 'Maori Curios: prevention of removal from NZ, 1905-7')

carver casually employed by the tourist department[64]). Some had been purchased directly from their owners, in order to raise funds for new causes[65]. And at least one tiki in Donne's collection was reworked from the blade of an adze, a less popular item of material culture reworked into a more collectable design in response to market preferences[66].

Modifying objects to meet collectors' tastes has a deeper history, noted for example in the mid nineteenth century when moko mokai (Maori preserved heads) were engraved with tattoo designs posthumously, adding to their market appeal and value (Taylor cited in Robley 1856: 167). Similarly, when visiting Te Rapa on the southern shore of Lake Taupo near Rotorua in 1844, artist George French Angas observed,

> paddles elaborately ornamented with arabesque designs in black and white, produced by charring the wood: Te Heuheu's [paramount elder of Tuwharetoa people of Taupo] son has been ornamenting some for me in a similar manner (Angas 1847b (II): 117).

The appeal of these and other Maori designs to Angas's artistic eye could explain his addition of ta moko (tattoo) designs to the buttocks and thighs of some men, and geometric patterns to some canoe paddles, in his adaptation of Merrett's painting of a haka party at Muruika pa, Ohinemutu – in Merrett's painting the people and paddles were undecorated (see chapter two, figures 2.2 and 2.4).

By the early 1900s "quantities of Maori weapons, ornaments, etc" were being made and sold by Maori to visitors[67], to which export limitations did not apply. Nor would they apply to a range of novel souvenirs being produced by European manufacturers, offering a new area of retail to antiquities dealers in the Rotorua region during this period of legislative restriction of their trade. For example, in addition to dealing in Maori "curios", S. Dannefaerd traded as a jeweller and lapidary, selling a large assortment of "opal, quartz, greenstone and kauri gum

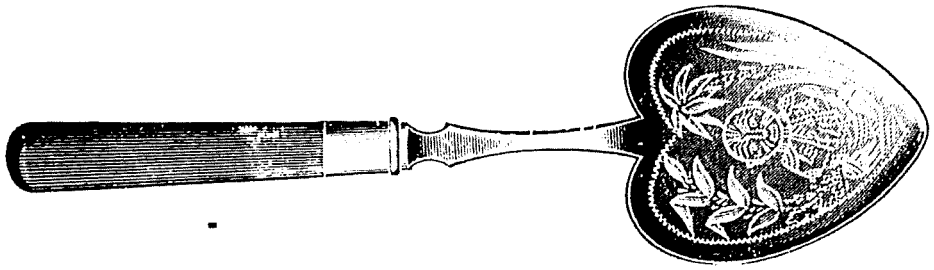
[64] See Neich 1991for a detailed account of the life and work of Heberley/Heperi family carvers and their role in the production of tourist arts and nationalistic government commissions.
[65] For example, Donne purchased a hei tiki from Kitty Rogers, a Maori woman of Rotorua. When her mother protested to the sale she remarked, she needed to buy a wedding dress ('The Hei Tiki', Scrapbook by T E Donne, c. 1900, ATL MS qMS-0619)
[66] 'The Hei Tiki', Scrapbook by T E Donne, c. 1900, ATL MS qMS-0619; see also Best (1974 [1912])
[67] Letter from T E Donne, to acting Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts, April 9, 1907 (NA MS TO 1, 20, 1901 162/18, 'Maori Curios: prevention of removal from NZ, 1905-7'). See Neich (2001: 232-257) for a detailed analysis of weaponry and other items carved for tourists in Rotorua in this period.

jewellery"[68], as did jewellers in other towns. Made from regionally sourced stone, gold and tree resin, and decorated with distinctive designs that borrowed from indigenous flora, fauna and Maori wording (figure 5.18), these new jewellery fashions appealed to a domestic and foreign visitor market.

They also appealed to Maori women. Especially those crafted from the highly valued native pounamu (nephrite) or 'greenstone', and were often worn in combination with ancestral taonga (figures 5.19, 5.20 and 5.21). When listing her taonga collection for storage in a safe, Makereti included a number of such novel jewellery items alongside her ancestral pendants, weaponry and huia feathers, such as a "hawai hat pin[69]", "greenstone hearts", a "little pakeha gr. tiki"[70] and a "kia ora brooch" (figure 5.22) to mention but a few. This is not to suggest such items were considered equivalent (Makereti referred to her ancestral taonga by their revered ancestral names, and referred to new jewellery designs as 'pakeha', or European-made). My point is that she valued these new fashions enough to store them in this way, and certainly did not consider them offensive. In other instances, distinctions between ancestral taonga and new 'pakeha' jewellery collapse, as people had ancestral taonga, such as mako (shark teeth) suspended on long ribbons, reset in precious metal jewellers' mounts making them more comfortable and more fashionable, as they do today[71].

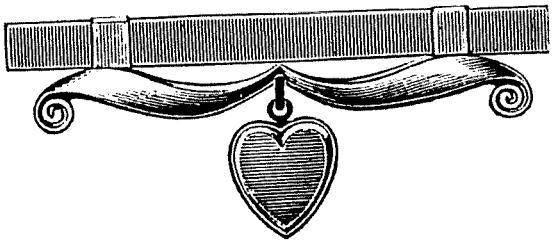
In addition to jewellery, engraved silver tableware could be localised by use of regional materials, such as greenstone, and by borrowing from Maori imagery. For example, the engraving on the silver and greenstone jam spoon illustrated in figure 5.18, borrows heavily from a carving of Ngati Pukaki founding ancestor Pukaki, with his partner Ngapuia of Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao, and two sons Wharengaro and Rangikatuku. Once a great kuwaha (gateway) into Muruika Pa, Ohinemutu (figures 2.2, 2.3, 2.4), Pukaki had been acquired by Auckland Museum in 1877[72] and put on

[68] From S Dannefaerd's business card (1906) printed in an unpublished manuscript by Ross B O'Rourke (1997), Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand.
[69] Hawai is an indigenous species of freshwater fish.
[70] Pakeha meaning person of European descent.
[71] Similarly, Victorian greenstone brooches handed down family lines have become considered as personal taonga today.
[72] Ngati Pukaki are a hapu (descent grouping) of Ngati Whakaue, Te Arawa, who live at Ohinemutu (see Tapsell (2000) for a detailed ethnographic and historical account of Pukaki).



H 4106.—Solid Silver Jam Spoon, Greenstone Handle, 5¼ inches long, 13/6.
Butter Knife to match, 10/6. Bread Fork to match, 11/6.

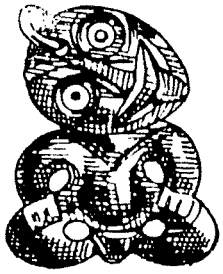
We pay postage and guarantee safe delivery of the goods.



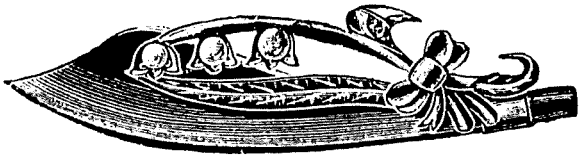
G 8062.– 9 ct. Gold-mounted Greenstone Brooch, 16/6.

G 1417.—9 ct. Gold-mounted Greenstone Heart, 15/6.

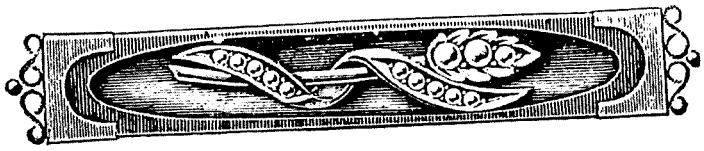
We have the four leading Jewellery Establishments in New Zealand. Send your orders to the nearest one.



G 5806.—Greenstone Tiki, 9/6.



G 9810.—9 ct. Gold-mounted Pearl Set Greenstone Brooch, 16/6.



H 1654.—9ct. Gold-mounted Pearl Set Greenstone Brooch, 21/-.

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Figure 5.18 Advertisement for jewellers Stewart Dawson Ltd, illustrating greenstone hearts, greenstone tiki and other gold jewellery and silver tableware popular in the early twentieth century, 'New Zealand as a Tourist and Health Resort', Thomas Cook and Son, 1905

Figure 5.19 Family portrait of Makereti (centre) with her kuia, her Aunt Marara Marotaua seated to her right, and her mother Pia Te Ngarotu to her left, in a photographer's studio, possibly Rotorua, early 1900s. Marara Ngawai Marotaua wears a contemporary greenstone brooch combined with other ancestral taonga (B43A.64, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum)

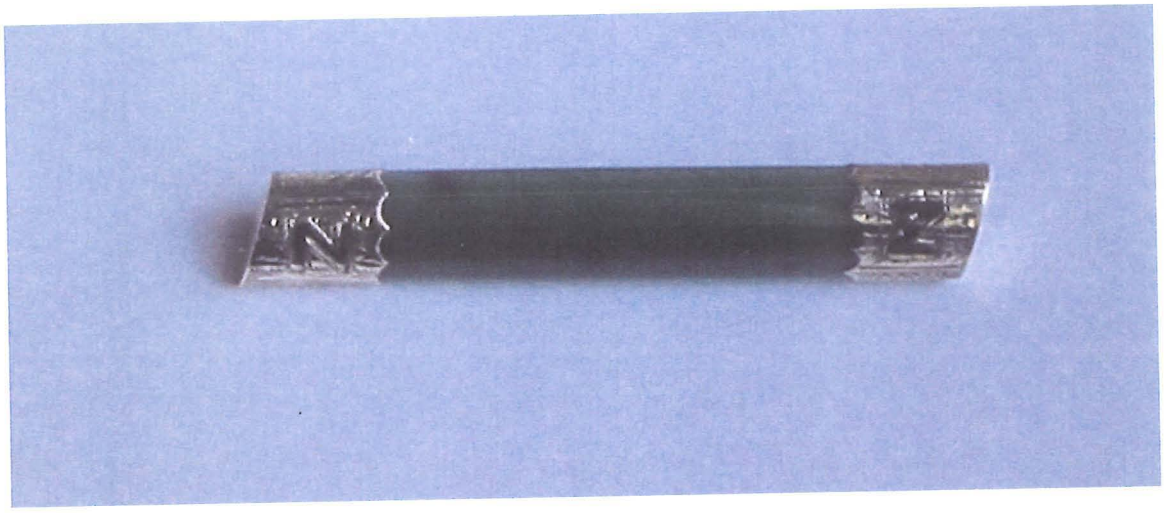

Figure 5.20 "NZ", gold mounted greenstone brooch, late nineteenth or early twentieth century, of the kind worn by Marara Ngawai Marotaua in figure 5.19, length 7cm (Author's collection)

Figure 5.21 Mako (shark tooth) earrings set in red sealing wax and suspended from long strips of black fabric, belonged to Marara Ngawai Marotaua, Makereti's aunt, possibly the ones worn in figure 5.19, c. 2.5cm, presented to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Makereti in 1923, 1923.31.1

Figure 5.22 "Kia Ora" brooch, made from nephrite (greenstone) and gold, c. 1915, by J Ziman, length 13.5cm, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa F.3674/12

display almost immediately (figure 5.23) (Tapsell 2000: 92) where he soon became a visitor attraction[73].

Pukaki's distinctive design – holding his children with his partner between his legs[74] – was subsequently illustrated in Hamilton's *Maori Art* (1896, Part II, Plate 20). By way of example, Hamilton perhaps prompted numerous further appropriations of Pukaki's image across a variety of object forms, seen again on this silver collector's spoon for example (figure 5.24). The detailed realism of the engraving of a woman named Riihi on the tip of the spoon suggests her image was copied from a postcard or other form of photograph, as pictures of women with moko kauae formed a popular genre at the time.

Another form of manufactured souvenir available in Rotorua at the time was 'view crockery' (figure 5.25) – souvenir chinaware manufactured in Britain, Germany and Czechoslovakia for export to emerging tourist markets. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries 'ribbon plates' were a popular form. Their painted designs mostly depict instantly recognisable scenes, landmarks or architecture (figure 5.26). This served to localise industrially manufactured chinaware to a particular regional souvenir market. In the early twentieth century painted designs became replaced with photographic transfers. Images of Rotorua already proven to be popular in postcard form, such as cooking scenes, penny haka, geysers, Maori guides and carved houses, could be applied across a variety of china and glass objects to encourage their sale (figures 5.27 and 5.28; and figures 5.29 and 5.30). This in turn would increase the volume of iconic imagery in circulation, further promoting the region as a tourist resort.

The association of ancestral images with objects or utensils associated with food and ingestion has become problematic, some people finding these sorts of souvenir offensive in the present because they imply the ancestor depicted on them has been reduced to food, or a mundane implement associated with food. In former times of war prior to the uptake of Christianity, to obtain utu (return for an affront or insult) the bodies of defeated enemies could be eaten to incur total destruction of

[73] 'Famous Maori Carvings in the Auckland Museum', *Auckland Weekly News*, 7th December 1900 (Tapsell 2000: 99).

[74] In the late 1840s, when conversion to Christianity brought peace to the region and fortified pa became obsolete Pukaki, like other palisade figures of Muruika pa, was cut down and repositioned as a carved house post on Korokai's chiefly dwelling, Te Angaanga, at Ohinemutu. During this process, Ngapuia was sawn in half (Tapsell 2000: 72).

FAMOUS MAORI CARVINGS IN THE AUCKLAND MUSEUM. H. Winkelmann, Phot

Figure 5.23 Pukaki on display in Auckland Museum, c. 1890 (Photograph: Auckland Museum)

Figure 5.24 Advertisement for G. Coates and Co, souvenir retailer, depicting a decorative silver collector's spoon with the image of Ngati Whakaue (Te Arawa) ancestor, Pukaki, and a woman of exalted lineage named Riihi (Cook's New Zealand Guide, Thomas Cook and Son, London, 1905)

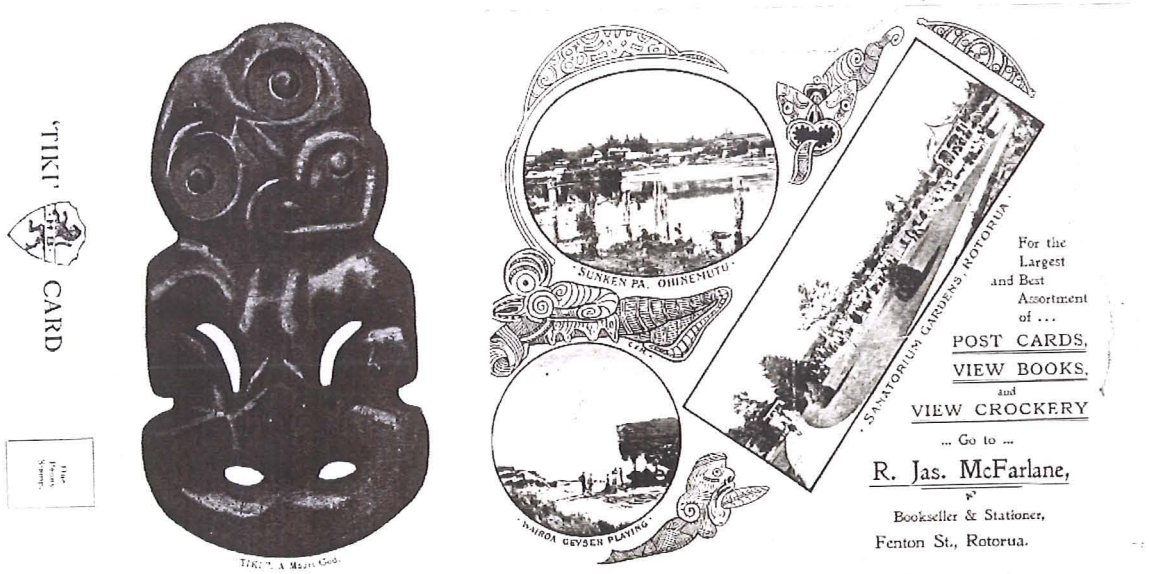

Figure 5.25 "Tiki Card", postcard advertisement for R. Jas. McFarlane's souvenir shop, Rotorua, c. 1908, combining the iconic pendant design, hei tiki, with popular postcard images and decorative borders drawn from Maori woodcarving designs (Makereti collection, Pitt Rivers Museum)

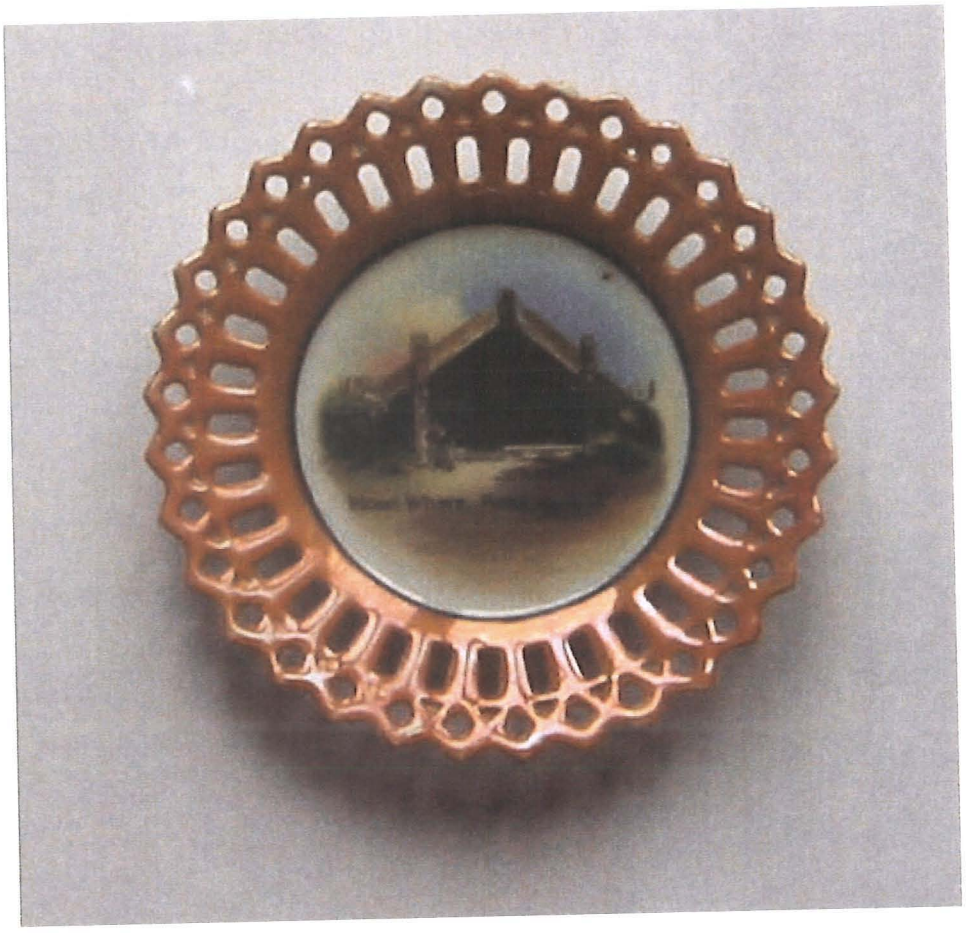

Figure 5.26 "Maori Whare, Rotorua, N.Z.", ornamental china ribbon plate, made in Germany, late nineteenth century, 10cm diameter (Author's collection)

Figure 5.27 "Maoris Cooking in Boiling Springs, Whakarewarewa, N.Z.", image painted from a popular postcard genre onto an ornamental china vase, early twentieth century, 14cm height, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, 1986.56.4

Figure 5.28 "Maoris Cooking", women at Whakarewarewa cooking in steam boxes and boiling springs, using woven kete, iron kettles and tin buckets, popular postcard, early twentieth century (Private collection)

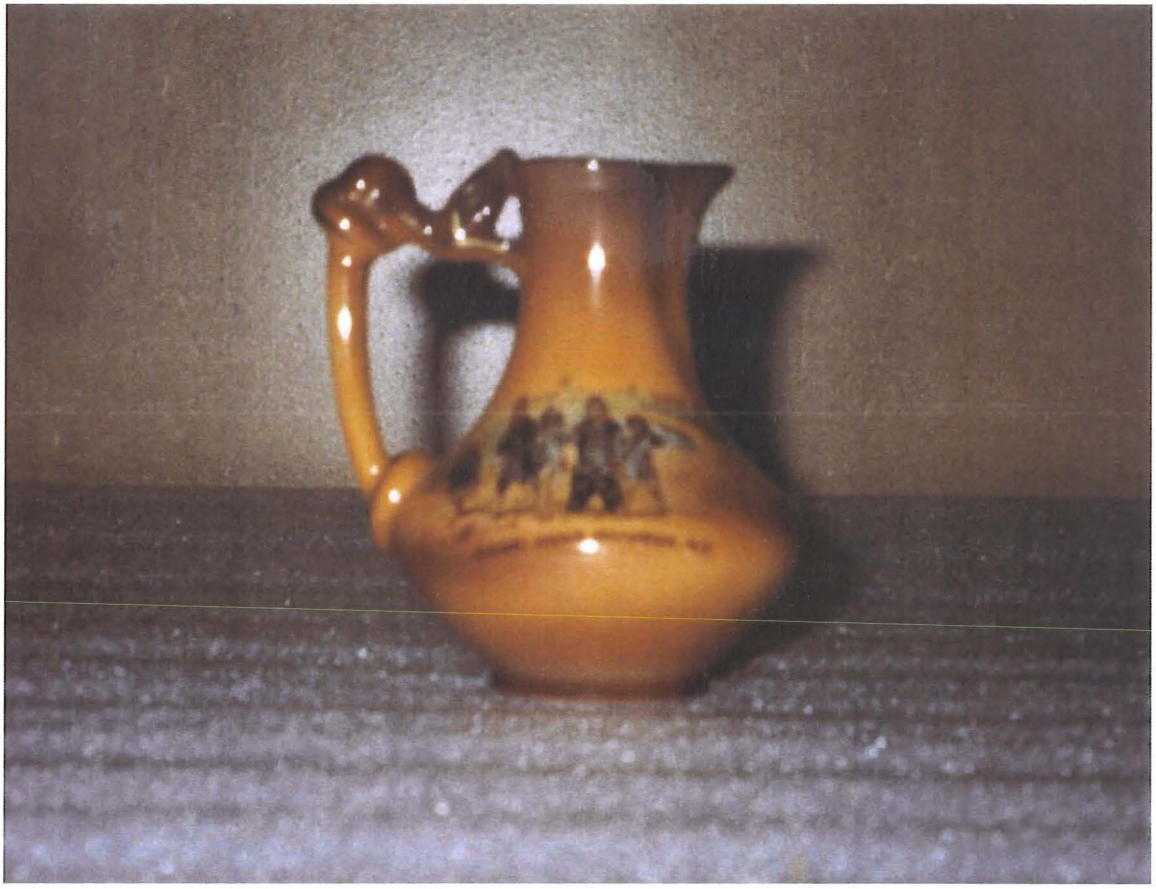

Figure 5.29 "Maori Haka, Rotorua, N.Z.", a group of children perform the 'penny haka', early twentieth century souvenir ware ornamental jug made by Royal Bayreuth, Bavaria, height 10cm, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, 1997.57

Figure 5.30 "Maori Children, Haka, Rotorua, N.Z.", children perform 'penny haka' at Whakarewarewa, popular postcard image, early twentieth century (Private collection)

tapu and loss of mana to the victim and their relatives[75]. An affront of this scale would invite severe retaliation and was not engaged in lightly. Instead, nineteenth century oral sources suggest such heinous insults were often implied rather than enacted. Patere (abusive poetic compositions) often express the desire to consume an enemy's head in order to offend the intended audience, as in "Kia inu a i te wai toto o te upoko e Toko-uru-rangi", "I shall drink the brain of your head, Toko-uru-rangi"[76].

Recipients of insults composed laments to keep the memory of the insult alive. Paul notes a waiata tangi composed to recall a loved one's destruction, in which the insult is made more effective through a directness of speech that expresses the idea that the person *is* the food utensil (rather than likening them to the stone symbolically, or metaphorically implying the stone stands for their brains):

> Tenei ou roro, ko te wowhatu e tu ki te ahi kai
> Here are your brains, *they are* the stone beside the cooking fire[77]

Given this concept of the heinous insult brought about by transforming a person into food or some associated utensil, either directly or by implication, domestic souvenir wares produced from the late nineteenth century depicting ancestors on food implements have become considered by many today to be offensive. However, novel carved and woven items made and used by Maori in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, such as woven tea cosies (Pendergrast 1987; and figure 4.6) and carved ashtrays and pipes (Neich 2001; Mead 1961) suggest quite the opposite: that until fairly recently these sorts of combinations were considered unproblematic.

Ideas about the preservation of bodily tapu and food (although diffuse and intermingled with other ideas, particularly since the uptake of Christianity) are pervasive in the present. For example, today it may be considered inappropriate to place taonga, or even photographs of taonga or of predecessors onto a kitchen table where food is eaten. Similarly, to place ones hat on the dinner table is likely to be considered gross bad manners. Hands should be washed in a bathroom not a kitchen sink, and the kitchen is often considered an inappropriate place to plumb in a washing machine.

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[75] Te Araki Te Pohu, Arawa leader active in taking Ngai Terangi pa, Te Tumu, near Maketu in 1836, cited by Makereti in Box 4, Section R "Utu", Makereti collection, Pitt Rivers Museum.
[76] From a Tuhoe kaioraora (composition), cited by J P Malcolm in Mead & Fleras (eds) (1980: 98-99).
[77] Locke and Paul (1989: 139) after Shortland (1856), my emphasis.

The persistence of such associations reveals that people did not simply take to new values and beliefs brought by missionaries and settlers. Instead colonisation proceeded through a compromised and sometimes contradictory coalescing of ideas, things and practices. And despite their pervasiveness, present ideas about food and preservation of tapu may sometimes be at variance with past practices. For example, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when many people had converted to Christianity, celebratory hakari including wedding banquets and Christmas dinners were held inside Tamatekapua meetinghouse at Ohinemutu, and Umukaria and Wahiao meetinghouses at Whakarewarewa[78]. Yet nowadays food is unlikely to be consumed inside the tapu space of the meetinghouse and meals are held in purpose-built wharekai (dining rooms) located on marae, usually adjacent to the meetinghouse.

Reflecting on the consequences of colonisation for Maori, and the relations of dominance through which colonisation proceeds, with hindsight people today might consider souvenir crockery and other such potentially derogatory appropriative forms to be further instances of colonial theft and racial denigration, or at least of cultural insensitivity[79]. Yet failings on the part of European manufacturers to understand Maori considerations regarding food and the preservation of tapu can be situated within a deeper regional history of not necessarily deliberate, but at times potentially abasing, social transgressions that have been occurring ever since European visitors resided among Maori hosts (as noted in chapter two, pages 85-87). To grasp the injurious significance of such insensitivities requires consideration of these souvenir forms in historical context. Whilst some designs may have been considered offensive, other new manufactures were clearly embraced by Maori. In either case by providing the visitor market with new 'curios' and souvenirs, these objects may in some way have contributed towards a reduction in an ethically questionable antiquities trade, whilst also enhancing the renown of the region as a tourist resort.

[78] As were frequently reported in the *Bay of Plenty Times* around the turn of the twentieth century, and mentioned in Makereti's diary for 1907-1908 (Private collection).

[79] See 'Protecting Matauranga Maori – The Waitangi Tribunal Claim to Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights: A paper prepared for the Hui on the Maori-Made-Mark, Maori Cultural Centre, Rotorua, 28 September 2000', unpublished paper by Maui Solomon, Barrister (discussed in chapter six, section 6.8).

5.8 Guiding, photography and renown

When the tourist department opened its model pa venture in 1909, drawing visitors away from Maori village attractions at Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa to the government reserve and geyser plateau, new employment opportunities arose for women to guide tourists through the government reserve. To do so required a license, issued in accordance with legislation drawn up by the department that would affect the work of guiding considerably. As a notably sympathetic newspaper reporter wryly observed:

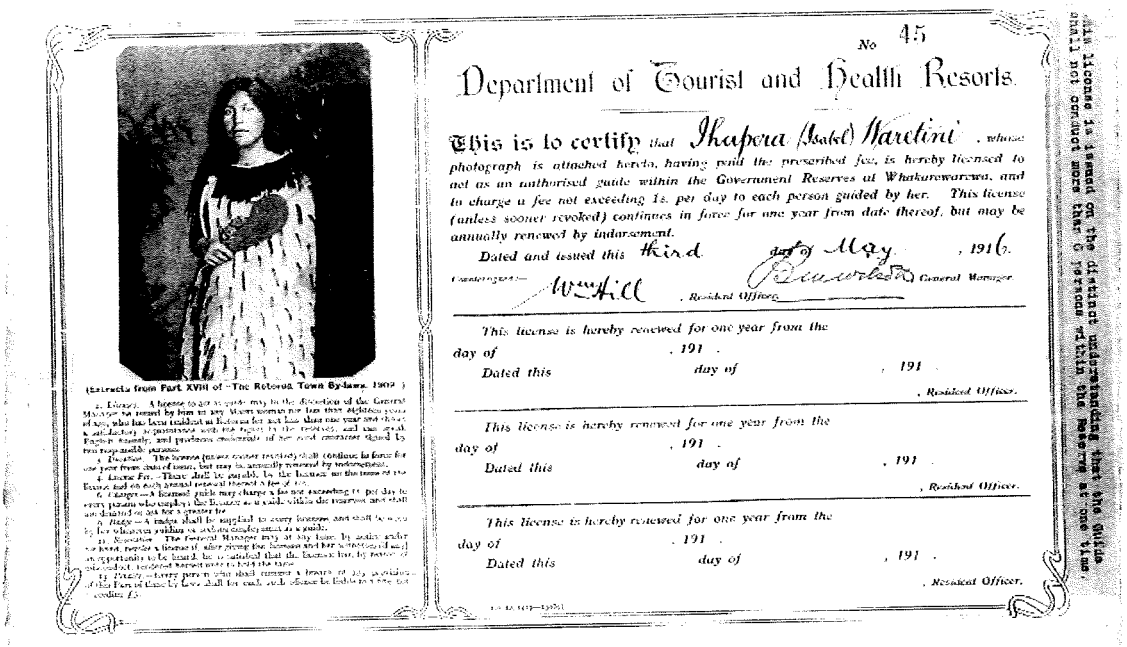
> Innovations of a somewhat drastic nature are to take place in connection with the guides at Whakarewarewa on the 1st January. From that date a licence fee of 10s per annum is going to be exacted by the Tourist Department from all desirous of guiding and who may be approved by the Department. Guides must be not less than 18 years of age, and must have been resident at least one year in Rotorua, able to speak English, and must produce credentials of good character signed by two responsible persons. A licensed guide...may charge a fee not exceeding one shilling per day to every person...We take it very few Maoris (sic) will care to give their services for the very insignificant sum of 1 shilling per day[80].

Successful applicants were issued with certificates signed by the manager of the tourist department (figure 5.31) and wore armbands to display their license-number. In addition to the considerable authority this legislation enabled (as licenses could be refused or revoked when regulations were not conformed to), having acquired the geyser plateau and thermal valley ostensibly to prevent Maori tolls and preserve scenic areas as the heritage of the nation, the government now charged tourists admission and guides a substantial license fee[81].

Furthermore through government patronage of guiding work, the extent of cross-cultural influences and folkloric codifications described previously in relation to guiding in Nelson's carved house were carried far further. The department, concerned that "details of history...and recognised mythology" be given to tourists, on the advice of Rev. F. A. Bennett of Ngati Whakaue, stipulated that "each of the

[80] *The Hot Lakes Chronicle*, December 25, 1909

[81] Supposedly to recoup building costs and maintain and extend the pa but, by their own admission, the profits were likely to have been considerable (See NA MS TO 1, 35 'Charges for Admission 1909-1952').



No 45

Department of Tourist and Health Resorts.

This is to certify that Ihapera (Mabel) Wareiini, whose photograph is attached hereto, having paid the prescribed fee, is hereby licensed to act as an authorised guide within the Government Reserves at Whakarewarewa, and to charge a fee not exceeding 1s. per day to each person guided by her. This license (unless sooner revoked) continues in force for one year from date thereof, but may be annually renewed by indorsement.

Dated and issued this third day of May, 1916.

Wm Hill, Resident Officer. Rewiriki, General Manager.

This license is hereby renewed for one year from the day of , 191 .
Dated this day of , 191 .
, Resident Officer.

This license is hereby renewed for one year from the day of , 191 .
Dated this day of , 191 .
, Resident Officer.

This license is hereby renewed for one year from the day of , 191 .
Dated this day of , 191 .
, Resident Officer.

(Extracts from Part XVIII of The Rotorua Town By-laws, 1909.)

This license is issued on the distinct understanding that the guide shall not conduct more than 6 persons within the Reserves at one time.

Figure 5.31 Guide's License, issued by the government department of Tourist and Health Resorts, 1909 (NA MS TO 1, 35, 3, Part Two, Native Guides)

Figure 5.32 Guides Hara and Pipi sitting by Whakarewarewa bridge, c. 1910, holding tickets for an evening concert to distribute to tourists (Photograph: Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand, C1886)

guides should have read Sir George Grey's "Polynesian Mythology...and at least two or three other standard books on Maori lore"[82].

Up until this point, Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao guides had considered it a take tupuna, a hereditary right, to guide tourists through the village of Whakarewarewa and adjacent thermal valley and geyser plateau. Now they faced competition from whomever the government chose to license. When tolls had been abolished and land given towards roads and public works, villagers had understood from visiting ministers that guiding privileges in the government reserve would be given to them, a position confirmed by the tourist department during construction of the model pa[83]. Consequently from the villagers' point of view, new licensing arrangements broke this promise, adding to a growing feeling of distrust towards the government[84].

Following the abolition of tolls, from 1908 Whakarewarewa village formed an incorporation to organise guiding and other tourism activities on a collective basis. Through their direct contact with tourists, guides were in a perfect position to promote services to tourists, such as distributing invitations to concert performances (figure 5.32), or offering souvenirs for sale, such as the carved pipes, walking sticks, tobacco pipes, and various bowls and boxes (Neich 2001: 232-249), woven poi and kete (figure 5.33) and postcards[85].

Funds drawn from tourism earnings were used to pay a village caretaker to maintain the village and were reinvested into villagers' projects, not only paying wages but also purchasing materials to make red tops and skirts worn by poi dancers and commissioning piupiu and carved weaponry for concert party members, hiring an assembly hall for commercial concerts, and printing postcards and programmes and guidebooks for sale. Tourism income could be lent to other relations, or presented to hosts when attending hui in other parts of the region, for example at house openings or tangihanga (funerals), so as to uphold the mana of Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao[86].

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[82] Letter from L Birks, Engineer, to C.R.C. Robieson, Manager, Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, October 19, 1909 (NA MS TO 1, 56, 1904/288, Part 2, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa 1904-9')
[83] Letter from T E Donne, Minister for Tourism, to J Carroll, Minister of Native Affairs, 4th December 1907, TO 1, 55, 1904/288, Part 2, 'Whakarewarewa Model Pa 1904-9'
[84] Letter from Makereti to T E Donne, October 14, 1907 (ATL MS qMS-0621)
[85] Makereti, personal diary 1907-8 (Private collection)
[86] Makereti made detailed accounts of these and other redistributions of tourism earnings in her personal diary 1907-8 (Private collection).

Figure 5.33 Kiwi kete (left) woven from muka (flax), 1926.57.3, 15cm x 18cm, and Taniko kete (right) woven from coloured wools, 1926.57.4, 12cm x 20cm, Whakarewarewa, donated by Makereti to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1926

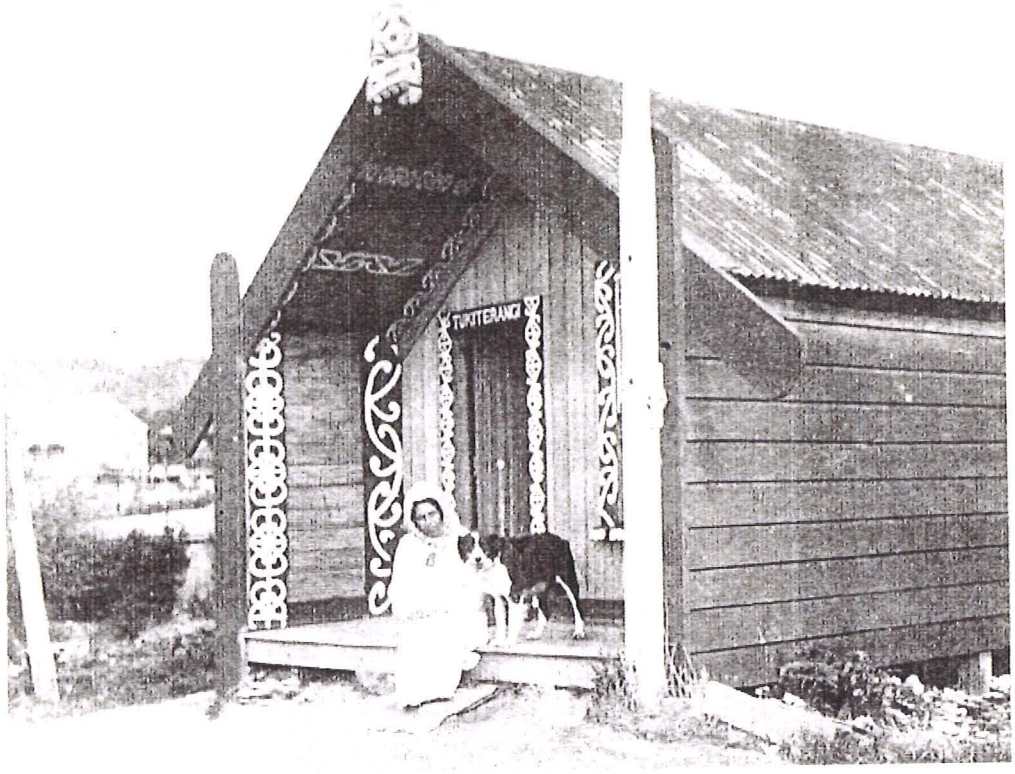

Figure 5.34 Makereti sitting on the porch of her wharepuni (dwelling), Tukiterangi, Whakarewarewa, 1907 (Photograph: Alexander Turnbull Library, C2503)

Money could also be saved for larger projects such as commissioning house carvings. In 1909 Makereti commissioned Tene Waitere to make carvings for her new wharepuni (dwelling house) to be named Tuhoromatakaka. This house was considerably larger and more ornate than her previous painted wharepuni, Tukiterangi (figures 5.34, 5.35). Unlike the innovative graphic works Tene Waitere had been producing for European patrons at the time, the carvings for Tuhoromatakaka were composed in conventional highly abstract Ngati Tarawhai style. And although Makereti used Tuhoromatakaka as a venue for entertaining tourists, the lived-in interior of her carved house differs greatly from the various attempts at pre-European reconstruction undertaken by European patrons at the time. As was customary, the interior was composed of one shared space, which Makereti filled with a broad range of material culture of the time (figure 5.36). In addition to the reed-work ceiling and carved and painted interior of the building itself, Victorian furniture combines with woven garments, carved boxes of the kind purchased by tourists, stuffed huia birds, chinaware, carved weaponry, electric lighting, tapa cloth, books, a piano and most strikingly, the walls are covered with oil paintings, prints and photographs, mostly portraiture.

The opening of Tuhoromatakaka in 1910[87], and a newly carved Wahiao in 1908, came at a time of increasing competition between guides working in the village of Whakarewarewa, and others licensed by the government to guide in the adjacent model pa and geyser reserve. With escalating competition between guides, business relations with local photographers were becoming increasingly important for fostering a guide's renown. Since tourists frequently desired to purchase a postcard of, or have their picture taken at striking geysers, a picturesque carved house, or with a well-known guiding personality, photographers also had an interest in establishing good rapport with guides. Those developing preferential relations with famous guiding personalities, such as elderly Guide Sophia, the heroine of the Tarawera eruption, or young and beautiful Guide Maggie, the 'Maori princess' who guided the Duke of York, stood to benefit considerably[88].

[87] The opening featured as a full page spread, 'Tuhoromatakaka – Maggie Papakura's new and picturesque whare at Whakarewarewa', in *The Weekly Graphic and New Zealand Mail*, May 25, 1910.
[88] Guide/Photographer alliances and complaints of monopolisation of trade are described in correspondences between the photographer Marsh and William Hill of the tourist department, Rotorua (NA MS TO 1, 64, 1906/369, 'Touting at Rotorua 1906-1916').

Figure 5.35 Tuhoromatakaka, Makereti's larger carved wharepuni, c. 1910 (Makereti 1938: Plate 20)

Figure 5.36 Interior of Tuhoromatakaka, with Makereti seated at a table writing, Whakarewarewa, 1910 (Photograph by Parkerson, B43A.19-B43A.20, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum)

Such mutually beneficial relationships highlight the need to refine recent critiques of the subjection of Maori women, and Pacific island women more generally, to the 'white male gaze' of the colonial camera and his 'dusky maiden' fantasies (for example Webb 1998; Sutton-Beets 2000; Raymond 2003). Almost synonymous with this genre is Arthur Iles, a photographer operating in Rotorua from 1901 who produced a series of photographs of 'young Maori belles' that in many instances do appear exploitative (for example, figure 5.37)[89]. The averted gaze disempowers the sitter and draws attention to a bared shoulder. The nudity hinted at in this, and similar images, suggests an innocent sexual naivety and availability that probably appealed to the imagination of inhibited Victorian gentlemen[90]. However, sexual gratification does not explain why women might send such postcards (figure 5.37 was sent by a woman). Given the prevalence of Arts and Crafts ideals at the time, especially among women of the leisure class, the popularity of such images among women suggests a romantic yearning for an unspoiled pre-industrial innocence when people made picturesque hand-woven garments, rather than the debased industrially manufactured clothes of the present.

Demonstrating clear understanding of the importance of renown, guiding personalities in the early twentieth century autographed postcards for tourists. Compared to the previous image, in these photographs women appear comfortable photographed in 'guiding dress' (this consisted of their usual clothes, with a red silk headscarf and often a nephrite pendant, such as a hei tiki) (figures 5.38 and 5.39), as they do in photographers' studios, picturesquely posed in woven garments with shoulder and arm revealed (figures 5.40 and 5.41). Not only were guides comfortable with having their picture taken, some ordered postcards and photographs several hundred at a time[91], for display in their own homes and for sale to visitors (see figure 5.36). Whilst postcards and photographs may have been locally preferred to the

[89] This was in addition to a series of presumably not sexually objectified tattooed men elders, picturesquely posed with weaponry, pendants and woven garments of the kind available for purchase from his store: "Iles' Maori Photos. Emporium for Maori Photos, Curios, etc. The largest stock of Maori Belle portraits and Tattooed Warriors in New Zealand", advertisement in *'Cook's New Zealand Guide'*, Thomas Cook and Son, London, 1905

[90] Indeed, whereas the Duchess of York collected many images of geothermal landscapes during her visit in 1901, the Duke's preference was for Iles' 'Maori belle' images and other portraits ('Victoria Mary 1900-1901', page 54, 'George Prince of Wales, Photographs 1901-2', page 34, courtesy of The Royal Photograph Collection, The Royal Collection Trust, Windsor Castle)

[91] Makereti personal diary, 1906-7 (Private collection)

Figure 5.37 "In Maiden Meditation", postcard by Arthur Iles, c. 1902 (Author's collection)

Figure 5.38 "Aroha na to hoa, Maggie Papakura" (Love from your friend, Maggie Papakura), postcard signed by Makereti, early 1900s (Private collection)

Figure 5.39 Kia ora tino koe, Kataraina (To your very good health, Kathleen), postcard signed by Guide Kathleen, early 1900s (Private collection)

Figure 5.40 "Makereta", signed studio image of Makereti, c. 1893, by Parkerson (Photograph from Makereti, 1938, Plate 1)

Figure 5.41 "Bella Papakura", signed postcard of Bella Thom, c. 1907 (Private collection)

culinary forms to which photographs of well-known guides were subsequently applied (for example, figures 5.42, 5.43, 5.44), the circulation of all these objects would enhance a guide's renown irrespective of the form in which they were presented.

5.9 Imperial patronage and new discourses of displacement

Maintaining popularity among tourists also ensured good relations with the tourist department, who had taken control of the district from the borough council in 1908[92]. When the opportunity arose for a concert party to tour to industrial exhibitions in Australia and Britain, Donne put the interested patrons in contact with Makereti, the famous Guide Maggie Papakura, much to the disappointment of rival groups[93].

Representing on different levels Te Arawa, Rotorua's tourism industry and the colony of New Zealand in general, a troupe forty strong led by Mita Taupopoki, Makereti and Bella Thom travelled to Australia in 1910 (figure 5.45). At the Melbourne Oval, Victoria, they set up a full-scale model Maori village consisting of large and medium-sized meetinghouses complete with carvings and painted rafters, several painted dwelling houses and two ornately carved pataka (storehouses), from which they sold a variety of postcards, photographs, small kete (bags) and poi (figure 5.46). The troupe re-erected the village at Clontarf, Sydney, New South Wales[94], and then sailed to Britain for the opening of the Festival of Empire exhibition at White City, London.

Industrial exhibitions of this kind were generally concerned to market a sense of the wealth of the British Empire and the superiority of all things imperial. Consequently companies made much of royal endorsement of their products in branding and advertising. Likewise, programmes for the Arawa troupe's show at the Crystal Palace theatre appealed to popular taste for royally approved products by drawing upon their former royal patronage:

[92] In accordance with the Thermal Springs District Act, 1908
[93] Letter from Makereti to T E Donne, May 5, 1909 (ATL MS qMS-0621)
[94] "The Maori Village at Clontarf", The Sun, December 25th 1910

Figure 5.42 "Susan, Rotorua", postcard of Guide Susan, early twentieth century (Private collection)

Figure 5.43 "Susan, Rotorua", china eggcup with image of Guide Susan painted from a photograph. Made in Austria, early twentieth century, height 8cm, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, 1990.86.1

Figure 5.44 Guides "Bella" and "Sophia" fireplace tiles from photographs by Arthur Iles, 1904. Made in Britain, early twentieth century, height 21cm, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum G188, G189

Figure 5.45 Arawa troupe on tour in 1910, Te Arohanui O Tuhourangi meetinghouse, model village, Australia. Troupe members included Mita Taupopoki, Bella Thom, Makereti, Paora and Emire Tamati, Hera Tawhai, Akenehi Roera, Te Anu Kaata, Arimina Wikiriwhi, Te Tai, Te Hatu, Tia, Huia, Eparaima, Rangitiaria; Rua Tawhai, Tamihana Pauro, Hone Nuku, Titi Roera, Wharepapa Pauro, Matina Makeha, Ropata Kereti, Te Meneti Ahipene, Henare Eparaima, Miro Te Amohau, Tamihana Paora, Wharenui Hori, Tene Waitere and Aporo Taiawhio (Photograph: Makereti collection, Pitt Rivers Museum, B43A.103)

Figure 5.46 "Hera with Curios", Hera Tawhai by carved pataka (presently in the British Museum, BMEthno.1933.7-8.1, see figure 3.6), selling poi, small woven kete, signed photographs and postcards. Melbourne Oval, Victoria, 1910 (Photograph: Makereti collection, Pitt Rivers Museum, M24020-21 Green Album, p 13, Photograph 13.4)

> Te Poi and War Dances, Scenes of Home Life, Rhythmical, Musical and Warlike Display, Ancient songs, Games and Pastimes, as given before H M King George V and Queen Mary upon their visit to New Zealand. It was pronounced by them to be the most stirring, weird, unique and beautiful entertainment ever given in any country by any Native Troupe[95].

As with the 1901 reception, journalists gave glowing description of the dexterous skill of poi dancers in manipulating their poi in fascinating waka (canoe), purerehua (butterfly) and tirirakau (fantail) dances. Singing was also much admired, particularly performances of contemporary English compositions such as 'Home, Little Maori, Home' by Alfred Hill, sung by contralto 'Princess Iwa' (Iwa Skerrett)[96]. So were the "examples of their workmanship, their ornaments, flax skirts and cloaks of fibre and feathers, and implements of war" on display[97]. More ceremonial aspects, such as lengthy oratory performed by Mita Taupopoki and other leading men, were considered quite dull and uninteresting by comparison[98] and were dropped to make the programme more popular. Thus in Britain, European patronage had the effect of privileging women's stage talents as these appealed more to audience taste.

Of the numerous troupes participating in these industrial fairs, the Maori village received the most publicity, often given full-page coverage when other participants received a single picture or paragraph (figure 5.47). In these images the Arawa troupe, organised under their own leadership, appear far more confident and at ease than those taken at Christchurch four years earlier. Press coverage was on one level notably positive, Makereti Papakura often referred to as a 'princess', distinguished by "the white-tipped feathers of the huia, a sign of her Royal descent"[99], with more general affinities imputed between Maori leadership and monarchic stature through the interchangeable use of terms of address such as Chief and King, Chieftainess and Queen or Princess.

Although frequently singled out as the 'best empire type' this position, reporters posited, had been achieved through evolution from "cannibals only sixty

[95] Official Concert Programme of the Arawa Maori Troupe at the Crystal Palace Theatre, London, 1911 (Makereti collection, Box 9, Pitt Rivers Museum)
[96] *The Daily Telegraph,* October 14, 1911
[97] *Lady's World*, August 1911 (monthly)
[98] For example, as reviewed in *The Sphere,* September 2, 1911, the same general points being made in many popular papers at the time.
[99] Weekly Irish Times June 10, 1911

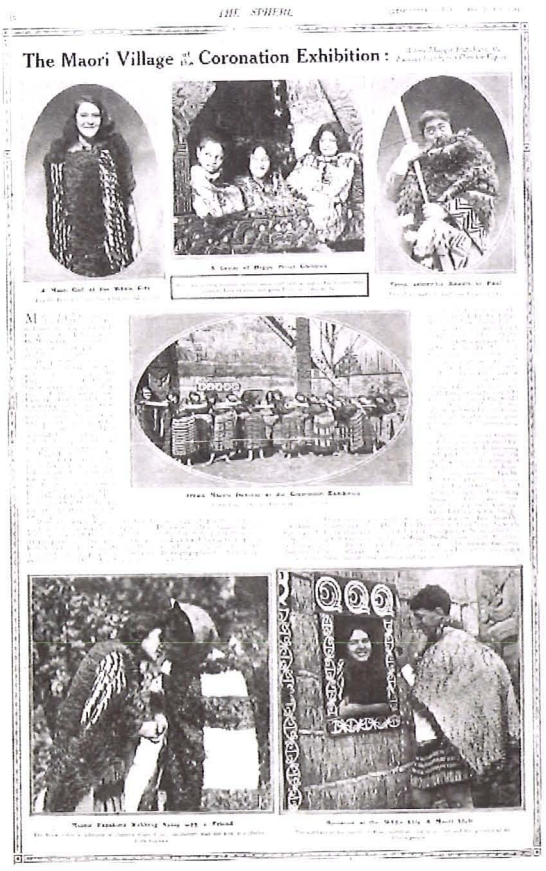

Figure 5.47 The Maori village at the Coronation Exhibition , one page of a three page supplement in The Sphere, July 8th 1911 (Makereti Papers, Pitt Rivers Museum, Red News Cuttings Book, p 62)

Figure 5.48 "KIA ORA - Greetings from Maoriland". Arawa Troupe led by Makereti (centre, second row) and Paora Tamati, (third row, right), concert promotional postcard, Britain, 1911 (Postcard: private collection)

years ago" to "the most refined of coloured races"[100]. Underpinning this notion of 'refinement' – demonstrable through the display of certain desirable characteristics (artistic capability, musicality, industriousness and so on) and things (handmade garments, carved ornaments and weaponry and the like) – was the notion of racial assimilation. A desire for which was conveyed overtly in the act that followed Arawa performances at the Crystal Palace Theatre: a 'Novelty Coon Act' in which a dark-skinned Anna Miles stood in a shower of rain until her colour washed away, leaving behind a clean, white-skinned girl[101]. A similarly fantasy of physiognomic transformation can be seen in photographs of the troupe used on postcards to advertise their concerts at theatres around the country. In these images troupe members are coloured in with fair skin, pink lips, rosy cheeks and brown wavy hair so as to appear Caucasian (figure 5.48).

Diffusionist theories of human evolution and migration gaining popularity at the turn of the twentieth century, took on a particular form in New Zealand where numerous ethnologists, most conspicuously Tregear (1885; 1904), posited an Indo-European, or 'Aryan', origin for the Maori race[102]. Tregear's discourse of primordial kinship between coloniser and colonised, although anthropologically fallible, provided an ideal founding myth in which to ground an emergent colonial nationalism (Thomas 1999a: 108). In theory the notion of 'Aryan brotherhood' would enable hierarchical racial categories between Maori and European to be transcended by removing discourses of Maori racial inferiority. This would effectively take the stigma out of miscegenation, as both peoples descended of the same 'Aryan stock'.

In reality however, the dominant group at the time perceived racial 'harmony' to entail the assimilation of the minority into the majority group. In other words, Aryan theory collapsed into another, more insidious form of fatal impact narrative. Compared to the imagined empty landscapes of mid nineteenth century emigration propaganda (chapter two, pages 77-81), pamphlets issued by emigration agencies in the early twentieth century promised a declining native population with many 'half

[100] *The Lloyd's Weekly News,* October 15, 1911
[101] This popular act was reviewed in several papers on October 17, 1911, including *The Daily Telegraph*; *The Daily Chronicle*; *The Stage* and others.
[102] A version of this theory was published on the back of the Arawa Troupe Concert Programme, London, 1911 (Makereti collection, Box 9, Pitt Rivers Museum).

castes' assimilated into European civilisation: "A person may be weeks in a city without ever seeing a Maori...NZ has no racial problem with the Maoris"[103]. Once again, what was Maori Land once again became romantically imagined as 'Maoriland', a picturesque landscape most desirable for colonisation.

5.10 State patronage and customary authority

The troupe returned to Whakarewarewa to find circumstances rapidly changing for their village. Over the past two decades returns from tour guiding in the Whakarewarewa area had decreased through the abolition of tolls, the reduction of guiding fees, the introduction of new licensing regulations and fees, and increasing competition for guiding work.

By the end of 1911, Whakarewarewa guides sent a petition to the tourist department, claiming guiding to be a customary ancestral right handed down through descent and requesting the department discontinue licensing 'outside' women[104]. Regulations stipulated in town by-laws had left the interpretation of a 'Rotorua woman' open to question and although the tourist department considered the term implicitly to mean 'Whakarewarewa woman', they wanted to avoid the complex area of customary title and were reticent to decide who was, or was not a Whakarewarewa woman[105].

Hence when a deputation met with native minister William Herries at Whakarewarewa to ask for the authority to appoint guides to be invested in the Whakarewarewa committee, this position was initially approved[106]. This approval of guiding privileges to Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao descendants provoked a response form Ngati Whakaue at Ohinemutu. Elder Taipourotu Mitchell advised the department such privileges were unfair, given that the land had been awarded to Ngati Whakaue, who subsequently sold to the government. If customary rights should determine guiding rights he argued, "then guides from Ngati Whakaue alone

[103] Tourism and emigration pamphlet, Makereti Collection, Box 5, Section U, Pitt Rivers Museum.
[104] As expressed in a petition from Guide Bella and a deputation of guides, presented to William Hill, manager of the tourist department, Rotorua, 1911 (NA MS TO 1, 35, 3, Part Two, 'Native Guides').
[105] Letter from W Hill to B M Wilson, October 24, 1911 (NA MS TO 1, 35, 3, Part Two, 'Native Guides')
[106] Memo from minister for Native Affairs W H Herries, to R H Rhodes, Minister in charge of Tourist Department, Wellington, January 24, 1913 (NA MS: TO 1, 35, 3, Part 1, 'Licensing of Native Guides, Whakarewarewa 1911-1930s')

should conduct tourists over the Crown portion"[107]. Adopting Mitchell's advice, the tourist department concluded that as the government owned the reserve, issues of ancestry and customary authority were irrelevant[108].

Although conditions in the villages of Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa were rapidly deteriorating as a result of economic hardship, exacerbated by a tourism slump during and after the First World War, when a third royal visit took place in 1920 the Prince of Wales was ceremonially received onto both Te Papa-I-Ouru marae, Ohinemutu, and on Te Pakira marae, Whakarewarewa. Ceremonies proceeded as they had in 1901, but on an even grander scale as thousands turned out at Arawa Park beneath a profusion of ancestral flags (figure 5.49) to honour those lost in the Great War.

Some displayed weaponry presented by Queen Victoria, others displayed medals from King George V (figure 5.50), and some received service medals from the Prince (Scholefield 1926: 46-52). Many made return presentations of taonga, including a mere pounamu (nephrite hand-held weapon) named Wehiwehi from Rata Mahuta, and another named Kauwhata from Tupu Taingakawa, leading elders of Ngati Maniapoto (the 'King country'). Ceremonial presentations also consisted of contemporary manufactures, including an ashtray, cigarette holder and liqueur glasses made from nephrite (Scholefield 1926: 50-51).

Despite the generosity of their reception, conditions were worsening for the residents of these once prosperous Maori villages as income from tourism activities became insufficient to maintain them. Problems with overcrowding coupled with a lack of adequate sanitation and sewerage facilities, led to recurrent outbreaks of typhoid and other water-borne disease. New housing materials (weatherboard, iron nails, tin roofing) could not withstand sulphur and quickly became dilapidated, and the villages began to look far from picturesque. By 1927, when Rotorua was to host another royal visit, perhaps due to the poor condition of the villages but probably

[107] Letter from H. Tai Mitchell to Mr Hill, Resident Officer, Rotorua, March 4, 1913 (NA MS: TO 1, 35, 3, Part 1, 'Licensing of Native Guides, Whakarewarewa 1911-1930s')

[108] Letter from William Hill, Resident Officer, to the General Manager of Tourist and Health Resorts, Wellington, April 25, 1913 (NA MS: TO 1, 35, 3, Part 1, 'Licensing of Native Guides, Whakarewarewa 1911-1930s'). Adopting Ngati Whakaue's position depends upon acceptance of the colonial land court hearing regarding the Whakarewarewa petition. The award of the prime geyser plateau area to Ngati Whakaue has always been disputed by Ngati Wahiao claimants, and continues to be today, in the form of grievance claims to the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal.

Figure 5.49 Ancestral flags, Arawa Park, Rotorua, 1920 (Photograph: NA MS IA, 31/1, Box 1)

Figure 5.50 Mita Taupopoki in ceremonial dress, displaying ancestral taonga and medals presented from members of the British royal family, Arawa Park, Rotorua, 1920 (Photograph: NA MS IA, 31/1, Box 1)

also due to the increasing control of the tourism department over the district, unlike all previous visits, the Duke and Duchess of York (later King George VI and Queen Elizabeth) were received at the government model pa, escorted by Guide Bella (figure 5.51)[109].

In response to deteriorating conditions at Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu, in 1926 a government commission was established to make recommendations for improvements[110]. Following extensive consultation with villagers, who expressed strong sentimental attachment to their ancestral lands, the commission rejected an idea forwarded by the tourist department – that these villages be demolished, residents relocated and model villages established on their sites. Foremost among village concerns had been sanitary improvements and the protection of tapu areas such as marae (ceremonial courtyards) and urupa (burial grounds) from any form of building or development.

The commission made a number of recommendations to restore the villages to an 'old-time Maori atmosphere', including the addition of distinctive features such as carved whare (houses), waharoa (gateway), pataka (storehouses) and palisades; the adoption of Maori costume; and the removal of businesses from the village except those run by villagers selling Maori-made carvings, weavings and 'curios'. Bearing in mind the tourist department's responsibility for the upkeep of the borough, and given that any improvements were in the interest of the national tourism industry as a whole, the commission recommended interest-free long-term government loans to fund restorations[111].

Ignoring this latter recommendation, the department proposed a tax on guiding fees on the grounds that the village was a 'native reserve' (private land) and thus not their responsibility. Yet in many ways, it had been the department's continual treatment of Maori villages as public property – when abolishing fees, taking land to build public bridges and roads through the village, taking hot springs, reducing guiding fees and such, all of which were aimed at encouraging tourist access – that had contributed considerably to their impoverishment. In order to impose the tax, new licensing regulations were introduced in 1933 through which the

[109] NS MS TO 40, 47/41 'Royal Visit – Duke of York 1926-1928
[110] *Inquiry into the Advisability of Establishing Model Maori Villages at Rotorua,* Wellington: Government Printer, 1926: 7-9
[111] *Ibid* 1926: 8-10

Figure 5.51 Guide Bella escorts the Duke of York through the government reserve and model pa, Rotorua, 1927 (Makereti collection, Pitt Rivers Museum B43A.129)

department reserved the right to examine and select guides[112]. Guides now bore several additional costs including maintenance tax, increased license fees, a deposit for a new official badge, and the cost of acquiring a newly stipulated Maori costume, consisting of a blouse, red skirt, piupiu and red headscarf[113].

Over the next decade, as more popular guides received a far greater share of guiding work this aggravated further disputes as all were subject to the same license fee. Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao continued to assert a position of customary authority and in an attempt to resolve disputes, a Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao deputation suggested a system of rotation be implemented to share work equally between guides[114]. However some guides considered to be 'outsiders' (non-kin) by Whakarewarewa people had become very popular among visitors and correspondingly were highly valued by the tourist department. Through state patronage, personal renown had become more important in acquiring guiding work than ancestry.

In this regard, the publication of a series of tourist department publicity images depicting picturesque scenes within the model pa and reserve would further the renown of government-licensed guides[115]. Drawing upon canonical 'pre-European' scenes painted by Gottfried Lindauer, such as women weaving, a tohunga (ritual expert) under tapu being fed cooked food by a child, and a man undergoing the operation of facial ta moko (tattoo)[116], participants re-enacted the kind of 'old time' Maori lifestyle the model pa project had sought to reconstruct. In other images participants carry out the distinctive domestic tasks and activities that Maori villages had come to be known for, such as cooking in hot springs and carrying children on the back (figures 5.52, 5.53).

Whereas late nineteenth and early twentieth century postcard images of these practises taken at Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa have always revealed how

[112] Letter from L J Bayfield, Manager, Rotorua, to B M Wilson, Manager, Wellington, Department of Tourist and Health Resorts, January 25, 1933 (NA MS TO 1, 35, 3, Part 2, 'Licensing of Native Guides 1930s-1960s')
[113] *Rotorua Morning Post*, March 2, 1933
[114] Enc. in letter from Bayfield to Wilson, March 29, 1933 (NA MS TO 1, 35, 3, Part 2, 'Licensing of Native Guides 1930s-1960s')
[115] *The Maori*, New Zealand Government Publicity Production, Wellington, 1928 (Te Whare Taonga O Te Arawa Rotorua Museum Archives)
[116] These images directly imitate the oil paintings *Tohunga under Tapu* (1901), *The Tohunga-ta-moko at Work* (1903), *Maori Women Weaving Flax Garments* (1906) by Gottfried Lindauer, in the Partridge Collection, Auckland City Art Gallery.

Figure 5.52 Maori Women cooking in hot stream, Rotorua, N.Z.", postcard depicting Guide Susan (Tuihana Hunt) and two other guides in the government model pa and reserve, Rotorua, c. 1928, from a series produced by the Tourist and Publicity Department (Private collection)

Figure 5.53 "An Arawa woman and child, N.Z.", postcard depicting Guide Ana Hall, from a series produced by the Tourist and Publicity Department, Rotorua, c. 1928 (Private collection)

imported items of clothing, blankets, iron pots and kettles were incorporated into, and considered part of, these local customs (see figure 5.28), in the government publicity images people enact these activities dressed in ceremonial attire. As early as 1905, Hamilton had advocated a model pa be built which "approved" Maori would inhabit during the tourist season, wearing "some semblance of Maori dress" (1905: 96). The main ideal, as he expressed it, was "to eliminate pakeha pots, pigs and petticoats" (*ibid*). Just as the tourist department had referred to Hamilton's *Maori Art* in their construction of the model pa, so they appear to have taken his advice to heart when re-enacting scenes within it.

Despite the incongruity between these publicity images and neighbouring Maori village realities, these images (which were used to decorate a wide range of commercial products from souvenir brochures and postcards to collectable photo-cards inside cigarette packets and chinaware) would promote the model pa and lend publicity to a new generation of government-licensed guides, enhancing their renown and improving their employability. The best advertisement of all however, remained to be called upon by the department to guide royalty and other guests of state, a privilege that conferred the status of honorary licensee.

As relations between Whakarewarewa and other guides fractured, Mita Taupopoki asked Ana Hato to establish a Tuhourangi concert party organised upon relations of descent, obligating those working in other groups to leave their current employment and work for the village. Money earned by the concert party, as from guiding in the village, would not be earned as an individual wage but pooled back into village funds[117]. In this manner, those descended from Tuhourangi and Ngati Wahiao with hereditary rights at Whakarewarewa village continued to operate a customary economy, alongside an increasingly state-organised tourism industry in Rotorua, circulating income from tourism work back into collective village projects.

5.11 Changing patronage relations: limitations and opportunities

Geothermal lands and scenery, in many ways a blessing, also stimulated a particular form of sustained colonial pressure upon descent groups to relinquish their lands, customary authority and autonomy to settler interests. In the early twentieth century,

[117] 'Ana Hato Forms New Party', *Rotorua Morning Post*, February 4, 1933; Guide Bubbles Mihinui, pers. comm.

through various self-supporting legislative amendments the government established an increasingly tightly controlled state-run tourism industry in the Rotorua area, in which Maori designs and objects were frequently highly valued, whilst Maori people working in the industry were frequently under-valued, marginalized and impoverished.

New patronage relations typically came from those working in tourism-related industries with an interest in preserving selected 'picturesque' elements of pre-European Maori life, something Rotorua's government tourism industry strove to offer an urban industrialising society. Concerns that local people, having taken to the trappings of modernity introduced throughout the nineteenth century, frequently don't seem concerned to share. Whilst investing considerably in reconstructing aspects of pre-European Maori settlements, attitudes towards skilled practitioners and to the residents of actual Maori villages became increasingly critical and residents received little assistance to improve upon impoverished living conditions.

Despite these contradictions, private and state patronage did open up a new space in which those with specialist skills to carry out their work in a manner free from the social obligations of customary authority and descent group belonging. Whilst new patrons certainly imposed various kinds of expectations and assumptions upon practitioners, despite various codifications these patrons may inadvertently have fostered various innovations in carving and weaving design, some of which may not have been permissible within the confines of customary patronage. In the arts of guiding and performance, changing patronage relations created opportunities for women on the tourist stage that frequently eclipsed the role of men. This is significant given that in Te Arawa custom of this period, men only are permitted to perform oratory on the marae.

Just as the acquisition of European title in land enabled settler businesses to operate independently of customary authority, descent group belonging and the economic obligations this entailed (see chapter three, section 3.5, page 147), so working in the government reserve also enabled some women to gain income independently of hereditary rights in ancestral lands, and consequently free of the obligation to distribute their income among their wider kin group. Perhaps this explains why Nelson removed his house from the collectively held ancestral marae of Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao and sought a private lease. For Maori disenfranchised

of rights in ancestral lands through the proceedings of the colonial land court process, new state patronage relations were also the better option, enabling employment beyond the confines of ancestry and hereditary rights. In the acquisition of such work, photography played a crucial role.

For those still living amongst their descent group on hereditary ancestral lands, customary patronage relations continued to structure their way of life. Various high profile activities such as international tours and the receipt of distinguished visitors would enhance the mana of descent groups and confirm their customary authority over ancestral lands[118]. The continuing significance of descent group organisation in structuring social and economic life crosscuts any straightforward sense of a holistic 'Maoriness' that could be co-opted into a new colonial nationality, which in turn was not always entirely distinct from a sense of Britishness.

[118] As argued in chapter four, this does not imply royal visitors and other distinguished guests conceived of these relations in the same way.

CHAPTER SIX

CHANGING ARTISTIC FORMS AND PRACTICES

> As far as I understand it, and probably Hapi would share the same thing, in lore, L, O, R, E no Maori owns anything. That is L, A, W, law. What Hapi and I have been put on this earth for, is to retain what we have and make sure that it is still there for future generations. We don't own it. All we are here for is to make sure that as custodians and guardians it is there for the next generations. That is what we call our tikanga. And it is a very important part of Maori philosophy[1].

6.1 Introduction

The government commission appointed to assess the condition of Maori villages at Ohinemutu and Whakarewarewa in 1926 recommended a national school of Maori Arts and Crafts be established in Rotorua[2] where, partly due to the support of tourism work, Te Arawa had maintained an unbroken carving tradition among Ngati Whakaue carvers at Ohinemutu, Ngati Pikiao carvers at Lake Rotoiti, and a larger group of Ngati Tarawhai carvers from Lake Okataina. Through the efforts primarily of Sir Apirana Ngata, legislation was passed to create the school and an associated Arts and Crafts board[3]. The school opened in 1927 in Te Ao Marama at Ohinemutu, formerly an Anglican Hall and concert theatre belonging to the Bennett family, and was run by Harold Hamilton (son of Augustus Hamilton, Director of the Dominion Museum in Wellington and author of *Maori Art*). By the 1920s, carvers in the Ngati Tarawhai tradition had developed a vigorous style suited to the tourist market, using smaller chisels to obtain an intricacy of surface pattern suited to smaller tourist pieces. Large adze work suited to meetinghouse carving and architectural construction had been poorly supported by tourism work (Neich 2001: 71), hence student Pine Taiapa encouraged elder Eramiha Neke, an adze-carving exponent of the Ngati Tarawhai tradition, to teach them at the school (Taiapa 1960).

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[1] Huhana Mihinui (Guide Bubbles) in conversation with Wihapi Winiata, Rotorua, August 27th, 2001
[2] *Inquiry into the Advisability of Establishing Model Maori Villages at Rotorua*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1926: 7
[3] *Bay of Plenty Times*, February 28, 1926

In an early meeting of board members[4], Te Rangihiroa/Dr Peter Buck suggested the adoption of Maori design in national architecture to develop distinctive public buildings and foster Maori arts[5]. His idea (published in the press with reference to Hamilton's *Maori Art* and an art movement in Europe inspired by "exotic design"[6]) drew critical response in the media from those who felt Maori techniques and materials (carving, wood) were inappropriately rude[7]. Instead, it was suggested that European designers working with stone and metal might adopt Maori motifs in their work. Supporters of the idea such as architect Page-Rowe, although 'progressive' given prevailing attitudes at the time, ultimately implied the exclusion of Maori practitioners from any such developments in mainstream national art and architecture[8].

In the Rotorua district, Pine Taiapa became the leading carver in a marae-building campaign fostered by Sir Apirana Ngata. Relocating to Whittaker Road in 1932, students at the Rotorua School provided carving, painting and tukutuku panelling for rural marae meetinghouses and were not directly involved in the production of articles for the tourism industry nor mainstream art and architecture. Although only open for a further five years, the School was responsible for creating and instilling an orthodox style of meetinghouse arts. This style combined aspects of the Ngati Tarawhai carving tradition as it was at the time, with aspects of Maori design selected from museum pieces by Harold Hamilton, effectively freezing what had been a dynamic Tarawhai carving stylistic continuum into one form. This style was propagated through the opening of around one hundred meetinghouses across the country by the mid twentieth century, creating a fairly homogenous and unchanging generic 'Maori style' understood as customary (Neich 1983).

This situation of relative rural segregation and isolation of Maori artistic practices from the mainstream prevailed until the post-war period, when from around

[4] The board's members were: Hon. Sir Maui Pomare MP, Hon. Apirana Ngata MP, Archdeacon H W Williams, Dr Peter Buck/Te Rangi Hiroa; Mr M Page Rowe, architect; Mr J MacDonald (photographer at the Dominion (formerly Colonial) Museum, Wellington); Mr H Tai Mitchell (Ngati Whakaue, Te Arawa, government land surveyor) and Mr Te Morehu Kirikau (Secretary).
[5] *New Zealand Herald,* January 12, 1927
[6] *The Dominion*, January 14, 1927
[7] *New Zealand Herald,* January 24, 1927
[8] W. Page-Rowe, Architect, on 'The Possible use of Maori Art-Motifs by the Pakeha Designer', *New Zealand Herald*, January 22, 1927. Projects of this kind include the use of Maori design motifs in the ceiling stucco work of the new Auckland Museum, an otherwise typically neo-classical structure (Cory-Pearce 2000).

the mid-twentieth century dramatic changes took place with the industrialisation of national production and the relocation of many Maori to urban settings seeking employment. Whilst service areas of tourism, such as guiding and concert entertainments, provided ongoing employment for Arawa people curbing the urban drift, Maori handcrafts were displaced from the tourist art market for cheaper, mass-produced forms. However, new avenues opened up for practitioners of carving, weaving and a range of innovative art forms in urban gallery locations from the late 1980s. In this chapter I consider this complex, shifting, and at times politically turbulent, post-war period through a detailed exploration of changing artistic forms and practices and the social relations they mediate.

6.2 Artistic practices during and after the World Wars

With house building came a broader revival of marae ceremonial practices, including singing and dancing. During and after the First World War, Sir Apirana Ngata and Princess Te Puea Herangi of the Waikato King Movement were instrumental in popularising the spread of a new genre of songs performed with actions to recruit; raise funds; and welcome returning Maori soldiers home, including 'E Pari Ra', a farewell song performed to 'Blue Eyes Waltz', composed by Paraire Tomoana (Ngata and Armstrong 1966: 78)[9]. The use of popular waltz-time melodies made them appealing to European audiences. Songs such as 'Po Ata Rau', which borrowed the tune of 'Swiss Cradle Song', and 'Pokarekare Ana', to a newly composed European-style melody, soon became part of Rotorua performing repertoires[10], were pressed as vinyl records and popularised and learned by succeeding generations, remaining part of the Arawa concert party repertoire into the present.

Following the Second World War, concert parties remained in demand to raise funds for meetinghouse building and maintenance and to perform during ceremonial gatherings on marae. In response to Ngata's encouragement of a

[9] Action songs were a new genre of dance that adapted the mimetic gesture of patere (chant) and the synchronised drill of haka (posture dance) to tunes borrowed from European popular music, sung with new lyrics composed in Maori (McLean 1996).

[10] 'The Famous Hinemoa Maori Entertainers' managed by Guides Eileen, Georgina, Eva and Ruth, Concert Party Programme c. 1920s; 'The Huia Maori Entertainers' managed by Guides Susan, Mary, Eva, Isabel, Rangi and Teresa, Concert Party Programme c. 1930s (Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum Archives; NA MS TO 1, 35, 3, Part 2, 'Licensing of Native Guides 1930s-1960s')

"renaissance in song, haka of all kinds and peruperu"[11], in the 1930s and 1940s first Maori cultural youth clubs were formed to teach haka, poi and new Maori compositions set to European popular music. The Taiporotu Club was one such group (figure 6.1) [12], founded in 1944 by Henry Taiporutu Mitchell and based at Tamatekapua meetinghouse, Ohinemutu. Competitions began to occur between clubs from the 1930s, taking place alongside important hui, such as the Hui Topu (an Anglican Church gathering held each May), annual events held by the Ratana church, and the annual coronation celebrations of the Waikato King movement. Te Arawa performers, their skills honed by the tourist stage, excelled in their displays (Ngata cited in Sorrenson 1986-1988: 135).

As with the large demonstrations of haka and poi performed during royal receptions, in these competitions poi dances and action songs from other regions were picked up by Te Arawa and incorporated into concert party repertoires. So performers today emphasise:

> Our kuia picked up the long poi on their travels and brought it back here and developed it, from two to four, to lying down. And Pokare [Pokarekare Ana], well that song wouldn't be so famous if we hadn't taken it up in tourism.

To make way for new songs with actions in cultural club repertoires, from around the 1940s more theatrical pieces, such as the Hinemoa and Tutanekai tableaux, were displaced. Whereas earlier concert party programmes had detailed European composers such as Alfred Hill, and names of tunes such as 'Blue Eyes Waltz' and the 'National Anthem'[13], in the Taiporutu programme reference was made only to the Maori composers of lyrics set to European tunes, and all songs were named in Maori[14]. In other words by 1944, these borrowings from European compositions had

[11] Letter from Sir Apirana Ngata to Te Rangi Hiroa/Dr Peter Buck, cited in Sorrenson 1986-88 (vol. 3): 133.
[12] Other famous clubs opening around the country from this period include Ngati Poneke in Wellington, founded by Kingi Tahiwi in 1936, Te Hokowhitu-a-Tu in Tokomaru Bay, founded by Tuini Ngawai in 1939, Waihirere of Gisborne, founded in 1951 by Bill Kerekere, Te Roopu Manutaki of Auckland, founded by Peter Sharples in 1969 (McLean 1996: 342).
[13] 'The Famous Hinemoa Maori Entertainers' managed by Guides Eileen, Georgina, Eva and Ruth, Concert Party Programme c. 1920s; 'The Huia Maori Entertainers' managed by Guides Susan, Mary, Eva, Isabel, Rangi and Teresa, Concert Party Programme c. 1930s (Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum Archives; NA MS TO 1, 35, 3, Part 2, 'Licensing of Native Guides 1930s-1960s')
[14] Taiporutu Club Souvenir Programme, c. 1944 (Te Whare Taonga O Te Arawa Rotorua Museum Archives)

Figure 6.1 Members of the Taiporutu Club, held at Tamatekapua, Te Papa-I-Ouru marae, Ohinemutu, Rotorua, c. 1944 (Photograph: Taiporutu Club Souvenir Programme, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum archives)

Figure 6.2 Guide Rangi outside Hinemihi, near Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, c.1950 (Photograph: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa A.1039)

become understood as unambiguously Maori, so much so that they could form part of a deliberate project to revive Maori performing arts[15].

Following Guide Bella's decline in health in the late 1930s, Rangitiaria took her place as official guide to guests of state, known widely amongst visitors to Rotorua as Guide Rangi. Although not resident in Whakarewarewa village itself, Rangitiaria was licensed to guide by the tourist department. In addition to guiding, she received and entertained tourists in her carved whare Hinemihi (figure 6.2) located on the road approaching Whakarewarewa, carved by her grandfather Tene Waitere in 1928. Hinemihi would have enhanced Guide Rangi's popularity and renown amongst visitors considerably. No more so than in 1954, when during the Rotorua Maori reception for Queen Elizabeth and Prince Phillip Duke of Edinburgh, in addition to guiding the royal party through the model pa, the government reserve and Whakarewarewa village, Guide Rangi took the royal visitors on a detour to Hinemihi where she presented them with piupiu for Prince Charles and Princess Anne (figure 6.3) (Dennan and Annabel 1968: 141-4).

As with Makereti's carved house, Tuhoromatakaka, Rangitiaria furnished her home with many cherished, contemporary things:

> Tene carved many of the furnishings, including a large double bed, a single bed, a table, a treasure box to hold my private valuables, and a magnificent central pillar. The house contains the trappings of both worlds – Maori and pakeha. In it I have stored all my most valuable possessions, many of them obtained on overseas trips as a guide, or given to me by well-wishers (Dennan 1968: 74).

Her home remains furnished this way today and is used by her descendants as a whanau tupunawhare, an extended family ancestral house (figure 6.4).

Due to a decline in tourism during and after the Second World War, in the 1950s many guides ceased working, as the financial returns were too low[16]. Well-known guides with captivating personalities such as Guide Kiddo (Kiriwaitingi Maniapoto), a popular guide of Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao at Whakarewarewa, and Guide Rangi were sought after by visitors and thus more assured of guiding work. In fact, an official sightseeing guide published by national road services in this period designated a space for autographs, suggesting the celebrity status of guiding

[15] As claimed in the programme (*ibid*)
[16] NA MS TO 1, 35, 1 'Reserve charges for admission, 1909-1952'

Figure 6.3 Having presented her royal guests with piupiu, Guide Rangi leads Queen Elizabeth and Prince Phillip from her carved wharenui, Hinemihi, Tryon Street, near Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, 1954 (Photograph: Royal Archives Windsor Castle RCIN 2702818)

Figure 6.4 Hinemihi house (interior), near Whakarewarewa, Rotorua, 2002. Guide Rangi's house has become a whanau tupuna whare (extended family ancestral house), where recently deceased family members are memorialised and treasured taonga (heir-loom like valuables) are kept on display, and where family members gather on important occasions to be together (Photograph: author's own, courtesy of the Schuster family)

personalities at the time (figure 6.5). For others who found guiding work to bring insufficient financial return, the selling of souvenirs from stalls set up at Whakarewarewa village became a preferred form of employment[17]. Souvenir items woven for tourists included small kete (handheld bags) using the raranga mat plaiting technique, or the taniko cloak border weaving technique (figure 6.6), miniature poi (figure 6.7), taniko belts and taniko earrings. In this period the Maori Women's Welfare League encouraged those with weaving skills to make Maori dolls for sale[18]. Marketed in Rotorua from around 1930, these dolls were dressed in miniaturised versions of the costume typically worn by members of concert parties and cultural clubs at the time: a finely woven muka cloak with feathers, piupiu skirt, a pari (bodice) woven in taniko, plaited pare (headband) and plaited kete (figure 6.8).

From the 1930s and into the mid-twentieth century, such souvenirs as well as larger garments – piupiu (flax kilts) and pari (taniko bodices) (figure 6.9), pare (taniko headbands) (figure 6.10), and raupo and muka poi (figure 6.11) – were made and worn by Maori to perform in concert parties, participate in ceremonial events on marae, and on other occasions. Hence in the interwar and post-war periods, tourism supported the perpetuation of a variety of artistic skills both directly, in terms of the typically miniaturised woven articles made as souvenirs, and indirectly, in terms of providing a market for concert parties, in which the performers wore woven garments. Concert parties in turn raised funds for larger community projects such as meetinghouse building and decorating and other collective projects. These items often bore novel, eye-catching graphic motifs worked into their design using customary raranga, taniko and piupiu weaving techniques, similar to the way in which innovative graphic motifs had been worked into tukutuku panel designs in Rangitihi house (see chapter five, pages 255-259). In this period novel graphic motifs are typically national icons of the tourism industry – the kiwi, fern leaves, mango pare (hammerhead shark rafter painting motif), 'Kia Ora' and 'NZ', motifs that had featured frequently on the kinds of souvenirs manufactured in Europe earlier in the century (see chapter five, page 264-265) – suggesting these sorts of translations

[17] November 20, 1952, *Daily Post*

[18] "The Maori women's welfare league has sent *Te Ao Hou* some interesting photographs of...the dolls displayed at the League progress day", article in *Te Ao Hou,* published by the Department of Maori Affairs, Wellington, July 1955, No. 11: 28

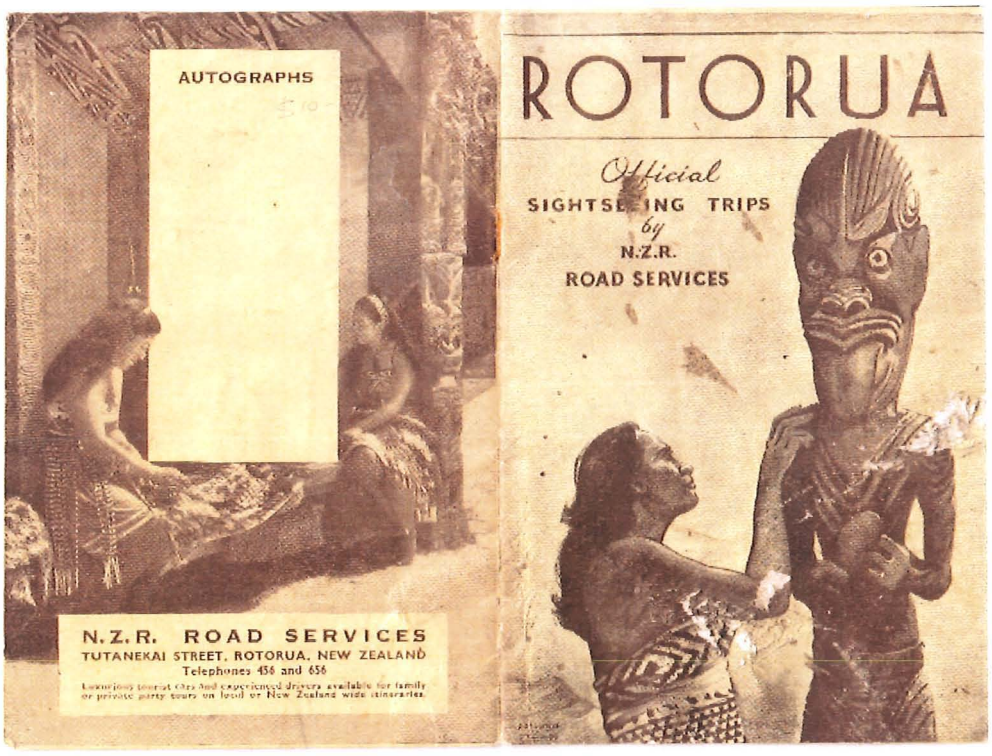

Figure 6.5 'Rotorua. Official Sightseeing Trips by NZR Road Services', front and back cover of guidebook with a space designated for autographs, c. 1950s, (Author's collection)

Figure 6.6 Kete taniko, small bag hand-woven using the taniko technique in red, gold and black embroidery silks, with naturalistic kiwi motif c. 1960s, 14cm x 22cm (Private collection)

Figure 6.7 Miniature raupo, muka and cellophane poi in customary red, gold, cream and black colour scheme, c. 1950s (left poi, 12cm length, 1998.33.69); and miniature raupo, muka and cellophane poi in nationalistic red, cream and blue colour scheme, 1961 (right poi, 10cm length, 1998.33.71) Te Whare Taonga O Te Arawa Rotorua Museum

Figure 6.8 Maori doll with handmade woven cloak, taniko pare (bodice), piupiu skirt, poi, plaited pari (headband) and plaited kete (handbag) (Photograph: *Te Ao Hou The New World*, Winter 1954, No. 8, front cover)

Figure 6.9 Arawa women performing poi dances in Arawa Park, Rotorua, during the reception for Queen Elizabeth and Prince Phillip in January 1954. In the left foreground is Guide Rangi, wearing a pari (bodice) woven using the taniko technique with kiwi and kereru feathers, and a distinctive piupiu with the letters 'N. Z.' worked into the design (Photograph: Royal Archives Windsor Castle, RCIN 2707783)

Figure 6.10 Pare, headband woven using taniko technique in red, orange, cream and black embroidery silks, diameter 25cm, 1988.133.3a, Te Whare Taonga O Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, donated by V. Davys in 1937

Figure 6.11 Pair of Poi Waeroa, long raupo poi with muka fringe and cords dyed red and green, length 64cm, M14.83a-b, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum. These poi belonged to Ana Hato (1906-53), soloist and leader of the Whakarewarewa Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao concert party from 1933

Figure 6.12 "GREETINGS FROM ROTORUA, NZ", cream milk jug with gold leaf trim and picture of carved gateway to the model pa gateway, Government Reserve, Rotorua, 8cm height, 1996.87.1 (left); and "GREETINGS FROM ROTORUA, NZ. MAORI MEETING HOUSE, WHAKAREWAREWA", cream milk jug with gold leaf trim and picture of Wahiao ancestral meetinghouse, Te Pakira Marae, Whakarewarewa, 11cm height, 1996.145 (right); both by Crown Lynn of Auckland, New Zealand, c. 1948-1955 (Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum)

between manufactured imports and local handmade articles were entirely unproblematic at this time.

Locally handmade souvenirs would soon compete with a range of mass-manufactured souvenirs that formed an important production area in New Zealand's post-war industrialising economy. Manufactured in bulk yet localised by borrowing from Maori designs, factory produced souvenirs could be made far more cheaply, undercutting the market for handmade Maori carved and woven items. The import of manufactured souvenirs ceased during wartime and in the post-war period newly established national companies began to manufacture similar articles. For example Crown Lynn, an Auckland china-manufacturing company established in 1948, produced a range of chinaware illustrating the government model pa and Wahiao ancestral meetinghouse at Whakarewarewa (figure 6.12). In the 1940s, textiles designer Avis Higgs (a student of the Kensington School) abstracted her 'Maori spirals' design from Te Hau Ki Turanga, the carved ancestral meetinghouse on display in the Dominion Museum. The design was purchased by textile manufacturers Tootal Broadhurst Lee of Manchester, Britain, and made into dress fabric for the New Zealand market from around 1950 (Lloyd-Jenkins 1998). These and similar post-war manufactured goods indicate the beginning of a trend that would displace Maori handmade production from the popular end of the souvenir market.

6.3 Industrialisation and displacement of the handmade

By the early 1960s the tourist department considered souvenir manufacturing and retail to be the most significant area of the industry for expansion. The government planned to open more factories to reduce the need for foreign imports damaging to the local economy. Maori designs, imagery and icons, accessible to commercial designers through a visual archive of museum collections, postcards, tourist arts and publications building up since the late nineteenth century, could be used to provide powerful branding tools for distinctively national products made from industrially produced materials. Manufactured goods in this period were often remodelled versions of earlier souvenir forms, such as silver collector's spoons (figure 6.13), chinaware (figure 6.14) and dolls with machine-made clothing (figure 6.15).

Figure 6.13 "Tiki New Zealand", Stuart's silver-plated collector's spoon, with tiki and mangopare motif on the handle. An anonymous Maori warrior performing the wero (ceremonial challenge) with a taiaha (long handled weapon) in a woodland scene is stamped into the spoon tip, c. 1960s, length 12cm (Author's own)

Figure 6.14 "MAORI CHIEF, NZ", "TIKI, NZ", "MAORI WHARE, NZ", "KIWI, NZ". Series of four china plates by Arthur Edward Wade, c. 1950s, diameter 11cm (Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa, Rotorua Museum)

Figure 6.15 Maori doll with machine-made red fabric skirt with piupiu thrums glued onto skirt, a machine-woven bodice imitating taniko weaving design, and fabric cloak with feathers glued on, c. 1960s, height 18cm (Author's own)

Compared to the argument developed in the previous chapter regarding photography and guiding renown (section 5.8), these articles bear typically little or no relationship to particular people or locales, indexing only generic categories of 'New Zealand' and 'Maori'. Nor do they offer any avenue for fostering weaving and other specialist skills.

To promote souvenir consumption, from the early 1960s national branches of the tourist department and New Zealand Embassies overseas distributed thousands and thousands of plastic tiki as a cost-efficient "useful gimmick", along with other mass-produced, cheap souvenir wares such as ashtrays, cigarette boxes and rugs bearing distinctive designs of "Maori motifs, Tikis, Kiwis, etc."[19] This was intended to stimulate public awareness of "characteristic emblems" of the country "so as to encourage tourists to come, and...to purchase manufactured souvenirs"[20]. Public awareness could be influenced before tourists landed in the country by the characteristic mangopare tailfin design of the national air carrier, TEAL, which was replicated across the in-flight dinner service (produced by national manufacturer Crown Lynn) and used to brand various consumables such as lager. Plastic tiki were distributed to every passenger onboard national air and coach carriers, giving rise to the enduring marketing expression, "See New Zealand...Take a tiki tour!"

When in 1962, Government plans to sell the model pa and thermal reserve to a private tourism business interest caused public outcry[21], it was decided instead to establish a national Maori Arts and Crafts Institute on the site. This Institute would replace the former Rotorua Maori Arts and Crafts School, and would operate as a non-profit organisation that could charge entry fees to cover running costs (Dennan and Annabel 1968: 148). Established by an act of parliament in 1963, the Institute opened in 1965 to foster Maori arts and crafts through the training of practitioners and the exhibition and sale of their works. These structural changes had far-reaching implications for guiding work. Through a 'gentleman's agreement', Tuhourangi

[19] Letter from A G Hill, Manager tourist department, Rotorua, to the Wellington office, February 23, 1961, NA MS TO 1, 47, 4 'Souvenirs for Tourist Resorts 1961-7'.
[20] Dean Eyre, Minister for Tourist and Health Resorts, June 14, 1962, NA MS TO 1, 47, 4 'Souvenirs for Tourist Resorts 1961-7'
[21] *Daily Post* June 27, 1962. Bearing in mind the site had been acquired by the government through the colonial land court on the grounds of preventing privatisation (see chapter three, section 3.7 page 162).

Ngati Wahiao leased to the Institute the right to tour through the village in return for a share of Institute entry fees, to be paid to the village trustees (Dennan and Annabel 1968: 152). From this point onwards guiding would no longer operate on an informal, seasonal basis. Instead the Institute employed a set number of guides on a salary to take tourists through the model pa, thermal reserve and village.

Inheriting the stylistic orthodoxy established by its forerunner, the Rotorua Maori Arts and Crafts School, teachers at the Institute taught conservatively, perpetuating the style of carving, weaving and painting considered customary at the time. This style is characterised to this day by shallow relief carvings usually varnished or painted red (figure 3.11), kowhaiwhai designs and taniko weaving typically coloured red, white and black, and tukutuku panelling in cream and golden yellow (figure 3.10), colour schemes preferred for their pre-European association. Established as a national institute, proprietary issues arose almost immediately regarding the dissemination of knowledge. Weaving teacher Emily Schuster expressed the position that when teaching Maori from other rohe (descent group regions) she would teach only technique, demonstrating to students how to build up their own designs. She did not consider it appropriate to teach knowledge pertaining to design name and history, nor knowledge of which plants to use, where they grow, and how to care for plants and prepare plant materials for weaving. These she considered were family matters, and she advised her students to seek answers from their own relatives. Additionally, she threatened to resign if asked to teach non-Maori applicants at this stage. Her staunch position caused some dispute at the time as the Institute had already suggested it would teach non-Maori applicants recommended by Maori, both Maori and non-Maori raised objections[22].

During the same decade, in a movement initiated by Gordon Tovey and advised by Pine Taiapa and others, the government department of education began promoting the teaching of Maori arts in mainstream schools and colleges (Pound 1994: 156). Given an urban drift of many young Maori families to city areas to seek employment from the 1950s, this initiative was accessible to a growing number of Maori pupils attending mainstream education, separated from more rural marae-based learning. Over the next two decades, a second branch of Maori arts

[22] Emily Schuster interviewed in the *Daily Post,* July 1, 1969, with responses published on December 18, 1969.

development emerged as a new generation of Maori artists graduated with formal art college training in the western European sense, including Sandy Adsett, Selwyn Muru, Ralph Hotere and John Bevan Ford. Equipped with the skills to produce art for a national and international market, these and other practitioners became established artists in their own right. New and exciting works were made for community settings such as marae dining halls, whilst some new works such as by Cliff Whiting and Para Matchitt, began to appear in mainstream locations including government buildings, national archives, libraries, schools, and public precincts insisting upon the recognition of Maori presence in urban areas. Many of these artists remained involved in teaching, encouraging further generations to create innovative art forms that adopt and adapt various new techniques and materials, and to draw inspiration from a variety of sources including European and North American modernism.

At this time in Rotorua, the Institute voiced complaints about the inferior quality of souvenirs on the market. Surveys suggested only five percent of carvings for sale in Rotorua were actually made by Maori practitioners. Tuhaka Kapua of the Ngati Whakaue carving School at Ohinemutu remarked that this was a result of unwillingness on the part of tourists to pay for quality Maori work[23]. The government's major concern in this period had been to discourage imports by opening national factories that could mass-produce cheap souvenirs to meet tourist market requirements[24]. Giving in to market forces, and in opposition to the wishes of head carving instructor Hone Taiapa, in 1967 the Institute began to produce small, carved articles for the tourist market in competition with national and imported manufactures[25]. Whilst the industrialisation of souvenir manufacturing was fast rendering handmade articles an expensive luxury beyond the general tourist market displacing Maori practitioners from the production of tourist arts, in guiding and concert work Maori remained centre stage, as it was Maori people visitors to Rotorua came to see.

[23] *Rotorua Daily Post,* December 6, 1965
[24] NA MS TO 40, 47/4 'Souvenirs for Tourist Resorts, 1961-1967'
[25] *Ibid; Report of the Rotorua Maori Arts and Crafts Institute for the year ended 31 March 1968,* published by the Department of State and Public Institutions, Wellington, 1968.

6.4 Concert parties and the shift to commercial contracts

In the post-war period two major concert parties were in operation, giving concerts in meetinghouses and in large theatre venues in town – Guide Rangi's party and Guide Kiri's party – into the 1960s all concert parties could be traced back to these two groups. Guide Kiri's Whakarewarewa concert party followed from Ana Hato's group (figure 6.16), although by the 1960s membership was not exclusively Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao. Given the close kinship connections and working relations between these rival parties and those that stemmed from them, it isn't surprising that many aspects of concert repertoires remained constant from the early 1900s into the 1960s, with all groups following more or less the same format. As a former member of Guide Kiri's party recalls:

> The concert programme would begin with a hymn, and the young ones act as manuhiri and the oldies on stage, the tangata whenua. We'd do the powhiri, then the mihimihi, one speech each and kinaki whakareta was our answer in waiata. Then the hongi and a kinaki in the rourou basket, to a haere kai chant to bring on the food. Now as one group we would depict the village scene on stage. It was pure theatre, combining every element that should be in a concert: beautiful singing, the dexterity of the poi, the pukana, and prowess with the taiaha, hand games, action and laughter.

Concert style had remained fairly constant as well, the large size of theatre groups allowed for performances with the drilled group precision and simultaneity long admired in posture dance. Yet there was also room for some stage-grabbing inventions:

> Kiddo was so innovative for concert, Guide Kiri. With the tititorea she'd paint them white and paint kowhaiwhai. Or batteries and coloured lights in the pois! She did that. But the structure was still Maori.

Entertainment and variety was very much a part of concerts given in the post-war period into the 1960s. However, performers insist the shows were still considered very Maori:

> It was all done in Maori but Guide Kiddo explained and narrated everything in English: the meaning of the action song, the pakete whero and purerehua short poi, a serious haka, and then a fun one, the women's haka. Kiddo led this. Old kuia with beautiful moko doing the haka, and kuwhewhe – jelly on a plate! We used to laugh. The variety we had in concerts. We finished with 'Po Ata Rau', after Kahu Morrison sang her closing song, 'Home Sweet Home'. This brought tears to everyone's eyes, and applause.

Figure 6.16 Guide Kiri's Whaka Concert Party, c. 1960, depicted on the album cover to a record pressed by the group with Zodiac records and sold at concerts (Album: private collection)

Figure 6.17 The Ohinemutu Cultural Group led by Kahu Morrison (seated second from right) performing the canoe poi, in front of Tamatekapua meetinghouse, Ohinemutu, c. 1967 (Postcard: private collection)

Guiding work was not practised at Ohinemutu, and in the 1960s Tuhaka Kapua suggested forming a concert party to raise funds for Ngati Whakaue purposes. A new Ohinemutu cultural group formed in 1967, performing daily concerts on a stage inside Tamatekapua meetinghouse for over thirty years (figure 6.17). Like the church-based club run in the village by Reverend Bennett, and the cultural club initiated by H. Tai Mitchell, the new Ohinemutu cultural group was a kin-based organisation with a collective sense of purpose. Concert work in the pa (village) was considered part of everyday life:

> We grew up in and around song and dance, and hangi in the pa, with tourists wandering through, taking a photograph of Tama in the steam. We were all there performing as a family group, the whole whanau.

This is how performing skills were picked up. By constantly watching and imitating older family members on stage:

> The young ones stood on the side. That's how you learnt as a child. I don't remember learning. We just knew it. I sang my first solo at twelve – frightening! E Moe Ra, Brahms lullaby it was, in Maori. It was a confidence thing, and the family connection was important.

Women's costumes changed slightly in this period. The finely woven taniko and muka pari (bodices) that replaced European blouses during the 1920s, as worn by Guide Rangi (figure 6.9), were gradually replaced from around the mid-twentieth century with a pari consisting of a taniko front panel attached to a cotton bodice backing (figure 6.18). Reduced in size and woven from thick wools, the front panel could be made far more quickly. The thick wool enabled the creation of bigger, bolder designs suited to the stage, as they were visible from a distance.

Another innovation was the plastic poi. Up until the mid-twentieth century women performed with short raupo poi (figure 6.9) and long poi made from raupo with muka (figure 6.11), however these were relatively fragile and could not stand up to the demands of daily and nightly shows:

> Raupo was very hard to use and it made your hands horrible. It didn't last long either. In the 1960s we realised we could make pois out of coloured paper from a box of apples. And then plastic foam, we could cut this into poi balls and make plastic poi.

The economic organisation of concert work also modified towards the close of the 1960s, as concert parties working in theatres and then in hotels cut show times and

Figure 6.18 Pari (women's bodice) worn in concert party performances: the front panel is woven from red, white and black wool using the taniko technique, which is then attached to a cotton bodice with shoulder straps, c. 1960s, width 50cm (Private collection)

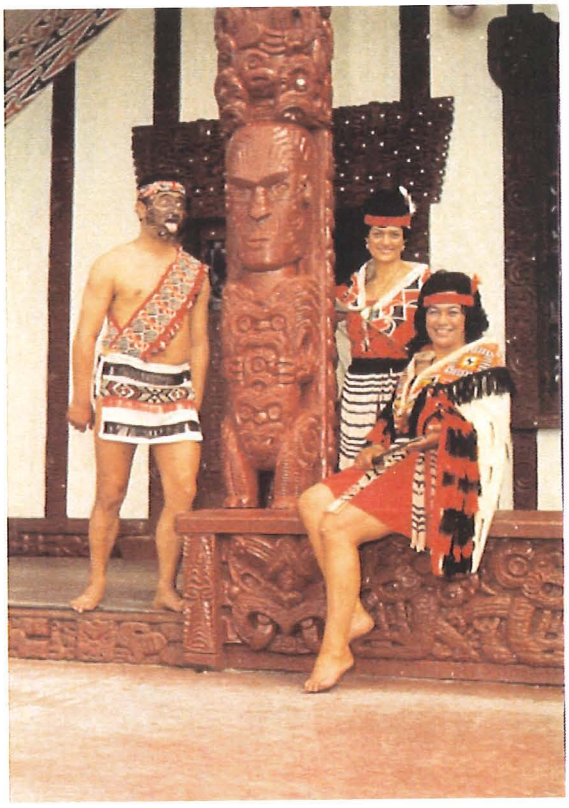

Figure 6.19 Concert performers in front of Tamatekapua Meetinghouse, Ohinemutu, wearing costumes made from fabric printed with kowhaiwhai designs and plastic piupiu. Senior Ngati Pikiao leader Irirangi Tiakiawa stands to the left, c. 1970s (Postcard: author's collection)

increased entry fees so that performers could receive a share of the takings. However a strong social onus remained, and profits were recycled into collective causes:

> Kahu Morrison cut the concert from two hours to one hour and increased the price to $1 entrance (it was twenty cents before). We did a one-hour show in Brents Hotel and the Kabana Bar in the late sixties and into the seventies. We gave concerts at Tama everyday and we did theatre shows every night. We earned $2 a night each. A King's ransom! And the profits were given to rebuilding Whakaturia.

In the 1970s the structure and location of concerts was to change considerably, from meetinghouses and theatres to hotel lounges and restaurants with the development of a new entertainment package, the hotel concert and hangi dinner:

> Laurie [Morrison] pushed for the idea here to put hangi concerts into hotels, creating a new variety of entertainment with dinner and a full band. In 1972 or '73 hotels put articles in the *Daily Post* for hangi concerts for $6.50! Helluva lot to charge to go and see a concert and have a feed, it was $2.50 for a set dinner a la carte!

By the mid 1970s nearly all hotels in town offered a hangi-concert entertainment package. As concert parties spread between increased numbers of venues, their structure changed considerably. Large hapu-based (descent group) parties performing in ancestral meetinghouses and theatres generating income for collective causes gradually became increasingly smaller groups of usually extended family structure, earning family income. With the expansion of performing groups giving daily and nightly concerts in Rotorua hotels, and with young children joining cultural clubs, the need for durable costumes was met with new manufactured fabrics sporting distinctively Maori motifs such as kowhaiwhai designs. A harder wearing plastic piupiu became popular, along with plastic poi and the widely available plastic tiki, providing economical, durable costume that was considered appropriate for the expanding secular spheres of commercial hotel work and youth clubs (figure 6.19).

Hotel contracts provided relative job security and set pay in work that had previously been seasonal, highly fluctuating, and in times of tourism slump and economic hardship, adversely competitive leading to touting and disputes between parties (see chapter five, section 5.10, page 290). Concert work could now become a paid profession, offering new employment opportunities beyond customary obligations to descent group causes. However, commercial contracts opened up the profession to any Maori person:

> Other out-of-town Maori came in the back door for a contract to tender for concerts. Well we never expected someone to do that! Ever since someone has undercut the success of someone else's idea and the profession of performing has suffered. Hotels pay big money now for our culture now and we are selling our tourists short. No one is saying what is a good or a bad performance. Now it's all about convenience – convenience concert, convenience clothes, convenience travel, convenience accommodation – and what does that make us? Convenience Maories?

Although Maori people were not displaced from concert party work as they had been from souvenir production, as with the introduction of government guiding licenses (chapter five, page 280), so the introduction of commercial contracts in hotels and other business settings meant that concert work was no longer the preserve of Arawa performing groups. And in the opinion of some veteran performers today, from this point the standards of performances fell.

6.5 Political unrest, proprietary protest and borrowed designs

As Rotorua's tourism industry entered the 1970s, presenting an amicable and accommodating Maori face to the world, and a dominant settler majority continued to image the nation through abstractions of Maori design (figure 6.20), there was growing discontent among the minority Maori population. Political relations were becoming increasingly turbulent and numerous activities including hikoi (land marches) and occupations of contested areas of lands took place, to protest against settler breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840 (see chapter two, page 80). These protests exposed New Zealand's myths of amicable colonisation and racial harmony, calling instead for acknowledgement of Maori grievances and compensation for their losses. Protest actions resulted in the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) and the establishment of a Waitangi Tribunal to adjudicate upon treaty claims (Sharp 1990; Walker 1987; Orange 1987).

Less overt proprietary claims were aired in Rotorua in response to the industrialisation of souvenir manufacturing, when in 1974 the Institute made recommendations for the establishment of a 'Maori Art Quality Mark' to the government tourist department[26]. Institute staff would assess applicants' work, and if they considered the work to be of quality design and craftsmanship, a certificate

[26] NA MS TO W2954, 8/ 2, Part 4, 'Maori curios, collections and genuine artefacts, greenstone, paua shell'

Figure 6.20 'New Zealand: Maori Tattoo Pattern' and 'New Zealand: Maori Club', two stamp designs issued by the New Zealand Post Office in 1970 to 1971, length 4cm (Author's collection)

Figure 6.21 Tiki with paua shell inlaid eyes, made from machine cut wood block and finished by hand from native kauri timber, length 12.5cm, of the kind for sale at the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute gift shop and all major souvenir retailers in Rotorua town, 2001 (Author's collection)

would be issued along with authorised stickers, labels and display cards in return for a fee. To my knowledge these proposals did not eventuate and by 1977 the Institute began bulk purchasing machined wooden blocks to be hand-finished by students, and retailing competitively priced souvenirs for the tourist market, as they do today (figure 6.21)[27].

Almost a decade later in 1983 an exhibition entitled "The Souvenir Trade: Debasing a Culture"[28] protested about the quality and content of industrially manufactured souvenirs, organised by the Auckland Commission on Racial Discrimination (ACORD). In an interview regarding the exhibition, Ranginui Walker expressed the position that "souvenirs are a barbaric part of Pakeha war on Maori culture"[29]. He objected in particular to the placement of images of Maori ancestors or of Maori designs more generally onto items considered to be profane, such as tea towels intended to dry eating utensils, or cushion covers intended to be sat on, which he found culturally offensive as they violated "Maori customs pertaining to the dichotomy of tapu (sacred) and noa (profane)"[30].

ACORD expressed the general position that mass-produced souvenirs were debasing of a culture because they trivialised and degraded things sacred to Maori, demonstrating the misunderstanding, ignorance, or negligence of Maori philosophical distinctions between tapu and noa on the part of souvenir manufacturers[31]. Accordingly, the tourist department produced a publication aimed at souvenir-manufacturing companies explaining these concepts, giving examples of souvenirs considered to have breached customary protocol and advising manufacturers to design products with a Maori theme with greater cultural sensitivity[32]. In particular, they advised against the use of Maori inspired imagery or design on tableware and other items associated with the consumption of food. National manufacturers, distributors and retailers appear to have taken this advice in

[27] *Ibid.*
[28] ACORD held their exhibition at the Ula and Oliver Sutherland Gallery in Grey Lynn and at the Outreach Gallery in Ponsonby, Auckland.
[29] *NZ Listener*, July 30, 1983
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] As has been noted previously, affronts of this kind have a far deeper history and have been noted since earliest encounters (see chapters two, section 2.5, and five, section 5.7), although the explicit interpretation of such actions and objects as debasing of Maori culture is specific to this time period.
[32] *A Guide to Quality in Maori Souvenirs*, published by the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department, Wellington, 1989.

earnest, as most items described in the publication are no longer seen on the shelves of retail outlets today. What is striking about this response is the relatively straightforward acceptance by both government and commercial interests of the philosophical position that the tapu and mana (glossed by Walker as personal sanctity, dignity and authority) of sacred persons and things extends into their image in any medium[33].

Acceptance of this notion, which transcends a western European normative distinction between animate persons and inanimate things, was perhaps assisted by the impact of a recent blockbuster exhibition, *Te Maori,* upon public perception of Maori cultural artefacts. *Te Maori* toured the United States and then New Zealand in 1984-1987 (precisely the years between ACORD's protest in 1983 and the government's advisory publication and recommendations of 1989) and became perceived as a pivotal turning point in public recognition of Maori cultural artefacts as impressive artworks, but also, more importantly, as the ancestral taonga of a living people. Anthropologist Sydney Moko Mead published widely on the significance of the involvement of Maori elders in performing dawn opening ceremonies and ensuring that customary protocol were observed in the display of ancestral taonga (Mead 1984; 1986; 1997 and others). These procedures brought about greater public awareness of Maori taonga as powerful ancestral beings, with their own mana, tapu and descent group history, that are brought to life through ceremonial proceedings delivered by their descendants in the present[34].

At this time Mead's generalised assertion that "The Maori people want to...control their own knowledge (matauranga Maori)" (1985: 4), was put into action in the preparation of claim WAI 262 to the Waitangi Tribunal to protect Matauranga Maori, glossed as Maori cultural and intellectual property[35]. However, during

[33] By way of comparison, the suggestion that usages of Maori motifs in national modernist art were instances of "promiscuous plundering" (Te Awekotuku 1986: 48) in which "Pakeha artists...take from the [Maori] culture, leaving little except evidence of their appropriation" (Panoho 1992: 124) received far from straightforward acceptance. They sparked vigorous ongoing debate between academics based primarily at Auckland University; one of whom devoted an entire publication to defending Pakeha use of Maori motifs in modernist New Zealand art (Pound 1994), and another an entire doctoral thesis to their critique (Shand 1997).

[34] So influential were these proceedings that American exhibition co-ordinator Carol O'Biso considered the ancestral taonga in her care to be in spiritual communion with her (1987).

[35] 'Protecting Matauranga Maori – The Waitangi Tribunal Claim to Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights: A paper prepared for the Hui on the Maori-Made-Mark, Maori Cultural Centre, Rotorua, 28 September 2000', unpublished paper by Maui Solomon, Barrister.

meetings held in Auckland to discuss how to limit commercial misappropriation of Maori imagery and designs, discussions were far from straightforward. As a staff member at the Institute recalls:

> Back in 1984 or '85 there was a gathering of arts people in Auckland to decide if there was to be a meeting for the iwi to wananga about it. Someone was talking about the koru used by Air New Zealand. We said it isn't a koru it is a mangopare, a hammerhead shark. There were many Maori misgivings about the issue of what exactly had been misused or abused.

Such misgivings are perhaps unsurprising given that by the 1980s, if certain kinds of souvenirs were now considered contentious, other mass-produced items remained apparently less so. Objects manufactured for the tourist market had become incorporated into Maori homes and lives. Factory-cut hand-finished carvings such as items of weaponry (figure 6.22) are displayed in living rooms, model tekoteko (ancestor figures), wakahuia (carved boxes for containing valuables) and waka (canoes) frequently adorn mantel pieces as do the peculiarly Maori modification of factory-produced carving, the twenty-first birthday key carved with Maori designs. Fabrics, sarongs, skirts, shirts and dresses printed with Maori designs imported from places like Fiji and Bali continue to be popular, and are frequently for sale at Maori events such as regional and national performing arts festivals (figure 6.23). Ever since the import of European manufactures from the mid-nineteenth century, and increasingly so with post-war industrialisation of the New Zealand economy, handmade carvings, garments and ornaments have become luxury items beyond the means of many, and the manufactured goods that displace them play increasingly central roles in day-to-day life.

Items considered offensive by ACORD and government recommendations also make their way into Maori homes. Headscarves, tablecloths and tea towels printed with Maori imagery, designs and language (figure 6.24), when hung on the wall along with family portraits or woven kete become something other than culturally debasing. These uses suggest the Maori dimension of their design can be recognised independently of the intended functional form of its material medium, bringing to mind Keane's notion of 'bundling' (2005: 19) – of the way in which any one attribute of a thing comes inescapably bundled up with the many other qualities embodied in its materiality. Iconicity is thus always a matter of potential discovery as people selectively recognise in things one or some of many possible significances.

Figure 6.22 Patu: carved wooden hand-held weapon, machine cut timber finished by hand, of the kind presented, displayed and used by Maori today, and also available for purchase in souvenir retail outlets, length 35cm (Gift from Jim Te Aonui Dennan)

Figure 6.23 Cotton shirt, printed with a design that borrows from kowhaiwhai (Maori rafter painting) designs in the red, white and black colour scheme preferred by Augustus Hamilton (1896-1900) and promulgated in the Rotorua School's marae-building programme from the 1930s, 61cm x 81cm, made in Fiji, purchased in Rotorua, 2002 (Author's collection)

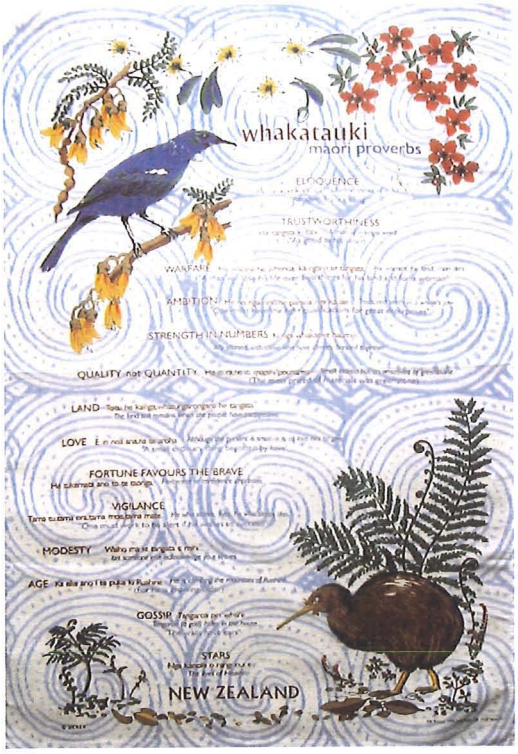

Figure 6.24 Linen tea towel printed with Maori whakatauaki (proverbial sayings), spiral carving motifs and native flora and fauna, 48cm x 67cm, purchased in Rotorua, 2002 (Author's collection)

Figure 6.25 Maori Doll in a caricatured design, wearing machine-made clothing, 21cm, purchased in Rotorua, 2002 (Author's collection)

Granted manufactured souvenirs can provide more people with durable Maori-looking things at affordable prices. Yet I want to suggest there is something more to it than this; that there is something significant about the mundaneness of their materiality. In her research, Te Awekotuku (1981) noted numerous respondents considered it was inappropriate to display ancestral taonga in the home because of the powerful mana and tapu that they embody. The appropriate place for their display was considered to be the wharetupuna, the ancestral meetinghouse. Great respect is accorded to the knowledge used to produce ancestral taonga, such as knowledge of weaving and carving techniques and designs, knowledge which is considered to be taonga tuku iho (an ancestral treasure handed down). It seems therefore possible that as well as accessibility, affordability and durability, the very mundane materiality of manufactured forms offers something back: it may make them more appropriate for secular uses in the home, to be worn on day-to-day occasions, and played with or otherwise used by younger members of the family.

Established artist and theoretician Robert Jahnke highlights the potentially derogatory implications of certain manufactured souvenirs. Making kiwi and sheep soft toys that wear Maori piupiu, or caricatured Maori dolls (figure 6.25) can be interpreted as attributing a dumb or infantile condition to Maori people and culture. Their cuteness may be deceptive, disguising their potentially damaging social effects. Whilst these sort of observations are important, they do not encompass the effects of all souvenirs that borrow from Maori design. Thomas has pointed instead to an unprecedented level of indigenous reference in the history of Aotearoa/New Zealand as a settled colony, compared to Australia and Canada (1999a: 106), which he argues has been uniquely self-subverting of settler authority.

Following the various protest activities and exhibitions occurring from the 1970s that have profiled Maori grievances alongside the display of cultural artefacts understood as ancestral taonga, the political environment changed and national bodies and corporations began commissioning new Maori artworks to demonstrate their 'bicultural' status[36]. In these circumstances I suggest all kinds of material culture that reference Maori presence have been re-energised by these shifting political relations in a nation that, by the early 1990s, appeared intent upon resolving

[36] See Thomas (1999) for a detailed account of these happenings.

colonial grievances and becoming Aotearoa/New Zealand. This includes industrially manufactured souvenirs that borrow from Maori design or otherwise reference Maori presence. Granted manufactured souvenirs are frequently technically inferior and cannot be said to foster the perpetuation of skilled Maori artistry, but by virtue of their borrowing from distinctive Maori forms, imagery or designs, they can only affirm rather than deny Maori presence.

Unlike the plastic tiki and special edition stamps with Maori designs circulating freely in the 1960s and early 1970s as merely 'characteristic emblems' of 'New Zealand', aimed at encouraging consumption of souvenirs to boost the manufacturing economy; in a post-1975 treaty-negotiations context such borrowed forms became more than contentious. They became politically involved, indexing something other than an imagined harmonious history of colonisation. Would it be taking the argument too far to suggest something as cheap, prolific, or vulgar as a plastic wahaika (handheld weapon) key-fob (figure 6.26) might provoke some amount of recall of Maori discontent and claims for redress? Is it insignificant that a recently manufactured T-shirt reads "Aotearoa New Zealand" (figure 6.27) unlike the stamp (figure 6.20), which stated only "New Zealand"? Would someone uncomfortable with increasingly visible Maori presence and more and more audible calls for a resolution of past injustices wear this kind of T-Shirt? I suggest not.

These specific things (stamps, key-fob and T-Shirt), although carrying the same formal designs (wahaika, ta moko), operate interactively in a social field that is politically contested and historically transformational. Their latent, multiple iconic possibilities embody the potential to become differently recognised in changed historical circumstances. Hence the captivating virtuosity of ta moko (facial tattoo) design comes inescapably bundled up with its apotropaic defensive quality that has come to index Maori presence, acts of resistance and claims for historical redress. Using, wearing, or otherwise displaying such a design has becomes less an instance of colonising appropriation and more an affirmation of Maori demands for social, economic, political and cultural parity in the present.

In this sense these forms may contribute indirectly to Maori political objectives, even if their mass-production does not foster Maori artistic skills and

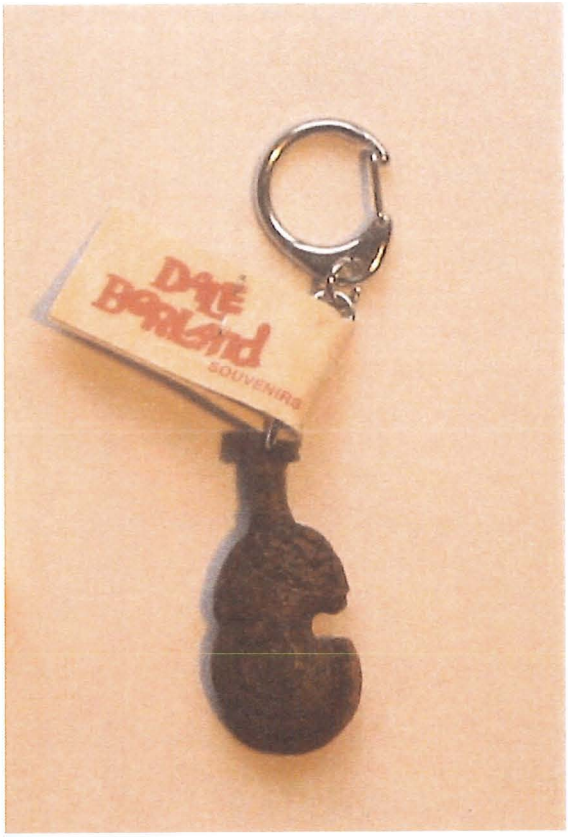

Figure 6.26 Key fob with plastic moulded Wahaika (hand-held Maori weapon) motif. The elaborately carved surface patterning is reminiscent of the tourist art style developed by Ngati Tarawhai carvers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Rotorua, purchased in Rotorua, 2002, length 11cm (Author's collection)

Figure 6.27 "Aotearoa New Zealand" T-shirt with design derived from Ta Moko, men's facial tattooing design, purchased in Rotorua, 2002, 52cm x 77cm, made in China (Author's collection)

techniques. In fact, mass proliferation may offer something to their political impact. As Townsend-Gault has recently argued, the social impact of 'circulating aboriginality' through such mass-produced and distributed ephemera, which in her examples borrow from North-west Coast indigenous designs in Canada, is that the political agency of their indigenous referent spreads further afield. This raises the question of whether such things can indeed be so trivial in their social agency and effects (Townsend-Gault 2004).

However, it would be dangerous to take the implications of this line of thinking too far and impute to souvenirs a power of resistance that can be a force for political and social change. Colonial relations of authority remained latent, re-emerging in 1995 with the announcement of a 'Fiscal Envelope' policy that placed a financial cap on the funds available to resolve Maori grievances. At this time, the bust of Queen Victoria (figure 4.3) went missing[37]. A reciprocal attack launched on the King George IV war memorial in government gardens destroyed the statue of Rangitihi (figure 3.15), as statutory disputes were materialised in statuary destruction. If displaying Queen Victoria's bust had acknowledged a relationship of mutual obligation between Queen Victoria's colonial government and Te Arawa people, toppling the bust when obligations were denied materially enacted the severance of that relationship, denying colonial authority over Arawa lands. Similarly, when Rangitihi's statue was destroyed, an ancestor embodying the mana o te whenua (authority over ancestral lands) of all major Arawa descent groups, that mana was also repudiated.

Subsequently the trustees of Te Papa-I-Ouru marae recovered the fragments of Queen Victoria's bust and stored them in the Ohinemutu carving school. The pieces of Rangitihi's statue were placed in Rotorua museum's off-site storage facility. Both patiently await a restoration that will probably never happen.

6.6 Tourism in Rotorua in the present

The gentlemanly partnership between Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao and the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute did not remain amicable for long. Differences arose regarding the payment of a share of Institute entry fees to the village, and in 1985 the village began

[37] 'Historic bust missing from Rotorua marae', *New Zealand Herald,* September 8, 1995

to operate its own guiding scheme again[38]. In response to these changes, the Institute gated and locked the passageway between the village and the thermal reserve and geyser plateau. Villagers broke it open, exercising what they understood to be their customary ancestral rights to guide in the thermal valley. The Institute re-erected the gate. The villagers took it down again. And so on until 1997 when the Asian stock market crash depleted the Institute of a major tour party market. At this point the Institute requested to work with the village again, but village tours were operating successfully and they decided to continue their operations independently. This time the village padlocked the gate, and this is how it remains today (figure 6.28).

Whilst the Institute had inherited the model pa (figures 6.29, 6.30) incorporating Rotowhio marae (6.31), and the geyser plateau and thermally active valley (figure 6.32) from the tourist department, and gave carving and weaving demonstrations for visitors (figure 6.34), all of which remain highly popular amongst tourists in Rotorua today, the tourist department's reconstruction venture has always remained uninhabited. Whakarewarewa village tours make much of this difference in their promotional materials, marketing themselves as 'the living village' and mapping village sites in terms of longstanding and distinctive outdoor domestic practices that emphasise the communal nature of village life (figure 6.35). These practices have attracted visitor attention since the first tourists came to Whakarewarewa (see chapter three, page 150), although today tourists do not stay in the village and the baths are for villagers use alone.

Nowadays the village has many competitors. In addition to the Institute and the hangi-concert packages on offer in many hotels in town, another private business venture has built a model pre-European fortified village offering the familiar hangi-concert package plus retail outlets selling souvenirs. As a local elder explains,

> We've got another business just south of where we are, and they are embarking on some kind of a cultural atmosphere there. The thing is it's all engineered. It's all put on, whereas in Whakarewarewa we're actually living the whole sequence.

Others are critical of the venture because it is run by 'outsiders' – by Maori entrepreneurs from other rohe (descent group regions) – in the same way that local residents at Whakarewarewa had complained that the tourist department licensed

[38] *Rotorua Daily Post*, May 17, 1985; *New Zealand Herald,* May 25, 1985

Figure 6.28 Padlocked gateway from MACI thermal reserve (formerly the government reserve) looking towards Whakarewarewa kainga (village) and urupa (cemetery), 2001

Figure 6.29 Kuwaha (carved gateway), entrance into the model pa and Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua, carved by Tene Waitere in 1904, Rotorua, 2001

Figure 6.30 Recreated early fortified village, Maori Arts and Crafts Institute (formerly the tourist department's model pa), 2001

Figure 6.31 Rotowhio model marae and carved meetinghouse, where daily and nightly cultural performances are given for visitors, Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, 2001

Figure 6.32 Thermal valley with Pohutu geyser and the Prince of Wales feathers geyser playing to the centre left, Maori Arts and Crafts Institute (formerly the government reserve), 2001

Figure 6.33 Betty Stevens demonstrating releasing the fibres from harakeke (flax) by cutting with a mussel shell, in preparation for weaving into piupiu kilts, examples of which are displayed hanging on the rear wall. School of Weaving, Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, 2000

Figure 6.34 'Whakarewarewa Thermal Village': 'The Living Village' tour map, 2001, with outdoor cooking areas likened to a kitchen, the marae and meetinghouse to a lounge, and smaller wharepuni likened to bedrooms, emphasising both the outdoor and the communal nature of village domestic life, distinctive qualities that have appealed to European visitors since the second half of the nineteenth century (Author's collection)

Figure 6.35 Wero (ceremonial challenge) delivered to visiting American schoolchildren on the 'People-to-People American Ambassador Programme' as they are brought onto Paratohoata marae, Ohinemutu, 2002

'outsiders' to guide in the government reserve earlier in the twentieth century (see chapter five, section 5.8):

> It was never accepted that we from here could go into another territory and set up, well, you might as well call it business, that's what it is today! That is getting away from the type of culture of our people. To go on, you know, somebody's neck of the woods, and do things like that. Oh, then they say they employ so many people who are probably local, well nobody can deny that. But in Maori, in the Maori structure, you don't do that!

In an effort to compete with new business competition, recently the Institute redeveloped its thermal valley tours, installing a high-tech transport system to drive groups of tourists around the sights, changing the practice of guiding radically. As a veteran guide recalls,

> In the past guiding was working for the village, fundraising for our people and not for ourselves. We were able to take up to six people at a time. We used to carry all our weaving gear in a kete and walk through the village and over the reserve, show them the ngawha, and then go all the way up into the model village. We would sit down there and do a demo while they rested, taking out some flax, cutting it with a mussel shell to release the fibres and then turning them on your legs; or perhaps we'd have a headband in the making to demonstrate taniko. Now up there [the Institute] they shunt heaps of people around in a buggy. This is not the face-to-face guiding and storytelling of before. It's so impersonal! The driver with his back to you talking through a microphone and speaker! Face-to-face is the Maori way. It's an important value. They can't better this – our living village – the guides have always had such personality.

Despite the competition, Whakarewarewa village tours remain popular today. Perhaps this is because ever since the inception of tourism in the region, in addition to geothermal scenery and natural wonders such as the pink and white terraces and Pohutu geyser, visitors have come to see the Maori people living amongst them.

Initially residents had worked for the village, raising funds to renovate the houses and re-establish guiding as a village occupation, but today the village trust employs around seventy residents who earn a regular wage. Given Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao's recent historical experience of government attempts to remove them from their ancestral lands in order to build a model pre-European village (chapter five, page 291), when renovating their village during the 1990s, residents made a pointed decision not to engage in any such reconstruction. Instead they chose to maintain a combination of distinctive Maori wharepuni and colonial weatherboard villas, a mixture of architecture that reflects recent village history.

Following the shift to hotel contracts in concert work during the 1970s, in conclusion to her study Te Awekotuku predicted future segregation between the tourist stage and the marae, the latter would be reserved for ultimately more important and revered spheres of Maori ceremonial and social activity (1981: 199-200). Clearly, in relation to recent developments at Whakarewarewa village her predictions did not eventuate. However, at Ohinemutu it is said that the marae has 'gone back to the iwi'. Concerts performed in Tamatekapua house since the late nineteenth century camè to a close in 2001, as marae trustees requested commercial operations relocate to other parts of town, although an exchange programme continues to operate at Ohinemutu on an annual basis. Run by members of Ngati Whakaue, the programme, which I briefly describe here, gives American schoolchildren the opportunity to stay on a marae as an educational experience:

Parties of schoolchildren arrive at Ohinemutu by dusk throughout the winter season. They receive the wero (ceremonial challenge) and are brought onto Paratahoata marae (figure 6.35), where they learn the rudiments of kawa (protocol) pertaining to the marae and ancestral meetinghouse, Tunohopu (figure 6.36)[39]. After enjoying a concert inside Tunohopu (figure 6.37), they share a kai (dinner) prepared in the hangi (steam ovens) at the adjacent wharekai (dining room), Rukuwai. Following dinner, beds are laid out across the meetinghouse floor, with sheets, pillows and mattresses overlapping to accommodate everybody in communal fashion. The group gathers in the house to listen to local people, who explain some details about the wharetupuna (ancestral meetinghouse) and descent group history. Visitors can make use of the thermal baths and other marae facilities, and in the morning after breakfast they clean and tidy the marae, before making a tour of the pa (village) and departing.

As long as tourism ventures continue to operate in marae settings then Te Awekotuku's prediction of segregation between commercial operations in town and marae ceremonial proceedings cannot eventuate because practices in town are influential of tour party and visitor expectations, which in turn affect the marae that continue to receive tourists. This is because of a recent trend in tourism ventures to

[39] The ancestor Tunohopu is a descendant of the ancestor Whakaue, founder of Ngati Whakaue, the people of Ohinemutu village. The house embodies the genealogy of Ngati Tunohopu, a hapu (descent group) of Ngati Whakaue.

Figure 6.36 Tunohopu wharetupuna (ancestral meetinghouse), Paratahoata marae, Ohinemutu, 2002

Figure 6.37 Concert inside Tunohopu wharetupuna (ancestral meetinghouse), where visiting American schoolchildren spend the night, Paratahoata marae, Ohinemutu, 2002

import marae ceremonial proceedings into the commercial setting. Business operators claim that by incorporating aspects of local kawa (protocol) and tikanga (customary practice) into their tourism product they educate tourists about Maori culture. This shift to education, beginning at the time of Te Awekotuku's research (1981), is one that is often criticised today by veteran performers of the large theatre group generation. As a seasoned guide and performer remarked,

> When they say 'Come to Rotorua to see Maori culture', well that's not our culture. There is more to our culture than a poi dance! The culture of any people has many facets. We call that whakangahau, which is entertainment, enjoying yourself, that's the category that comes under.

Veterans find the performance of aspects of marae ceremonial in commercial venues to be peculiarly out of place:

> It is nonsense to perform taiaha and wero inside! This was always done outside on the marae, to negotiate the suspicion when inter-tribal meetings were held. It is stupidity to do this inside, to adapt the practice commercially. What we were doing was a concert, an entertainment, and weaponry was not a part of that.

In this and in other ways, business ventures have modified aspects of ceremonial kawa and tikanga to suit tour party needs, visitor tastes, and their own profitability. For example, to increase the number of visitors that can be bussed through the new model village venture, they operate welcomes throughout the night, breaking with Te Arawa kawa (protocol). Ceremonial encounters as they are practiced on the marae today emerge from former times when the access of strangers – who may potentially be attackers – into a fortified settlement was very carefully negotiated[40]. Given these concerns, it would make little sense to receive strangers in the dark, when they could not be seen. Today local people feel strongly that their kawa and tikanga must be upheld and express concern that commercial adaptations of protocol can affect their own proceedings:

> What they do there affects us. People expect us to do the same show at night. But it's not right! It's about integrity, even though there's a commercial reality and we need to maintain an income, the tikanga is important. Without our tikanga we're just dressing up for tourists! This is not a model. This is our marae. Our tangi are here. We must not allow tikanga to be dropped in our pa.

[40] See Salmond (1975) for a detailed historical and ethnographical account of marae rituals of encounter, and Tapsell (1997) for further ethnographic details.

Whereas people going onto an ancestral marae experience and demonstrate ihi, wehi and wana (fear, awe and respect) in the presence of the mana and tapu of their sacred marae, wharetupuna and ancestors, when ceremonial proceedings are enacted in commercial settings such as hotels or purpose-built model villages, these places have no mana or tapu, and hence proceedings are not approached with the same reverence. A sense of amusement and complacency frequently pervades the show:

> Some groups around here think 'Oh, it's just another gig'. They get complacent. But it's not good enough to do that on our marae in our whare, in front of our tupuna! It upsets me. It makes me angry. And why aren't we doing anything about it?

Local upset and anger is met with frustration, as there seems to be little that can be done to influence the way in which privately owned businesses operate in the region.

As noted by Te Awekotuku (1981: 251-253), so today Arawa performing groups concur it is the day-in-day-out concert work provided by the tourist stage that keeps their performing skills sharp and gives them confidence on stage. Practitioners stress that this is why Arawa kapa haka (competitive performing arts) groups are always well represented in the final rounds of national contests. Today, if not previously, the relationship between tourism work and success in competitive festivals has become mutually reinforcing: high placement in national contests can be of great benefit in competitive (and lucrative) concert contracts. With increasing competition from 'outsiders', concert work today may depend as much, if not more, upon success in such contests than it does upon kinship and descent.

6.7 The competitive stage, performance style and fibre arts

Whilst competitive demonstrations of haka and poi on a national scale date back to the early twentieth century, where they formed an important part of large hui (ceremonial gatherings) such as Maori receptions to British royal visitors, and evolved into more formalised contests between youth cultural groups from the 1930s, since 1972 a biennial New Zealand Polynesian Festival (recently renamed the Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Festival) has operated purely as a competition in its own right. Although a relatively recent phenomenon, leading kapa haka roopu (competitive performing arts groups) grip the younger generation's enthusiasms and the practice of kapa haka (competitive performing arts) has rapidly

become understood as an expression of Maoritanga (of being Maori) in its own right, aside from ceremonial functions and social practices. Some of the older generation find the enthusiasm for such competitions misguided:

> As recent as 1983 the word kapa haka was not used, and how many items of all the winners can we actually pick out and perform? I can't think of one! I can think of two action songs to come out of the Polynesian festival when it began with longevity – Tangi Hea and Karanga Tia Mai by Bill Kerekere. Now the groups have become bigger than the performances. We can remember who won, but not what they did! But wherever you are in the country you can stand up and do Karanga Tia Mai and everyone can do it. These competitions make groups into districts and no one is learning from the other groups, from each other. What's the use of their stuff if we can't use it in a hui?

To meet the competition's requirements for originality, waiata, haka and poi are composed and learned on an annual basis. These new compositions are secretly guarded prior to the contest to prevent copying, yet almost instantly forgettable after the event making them somewhat culturally redundant, as they do not become part of the wider cultural repertoire of descent groups in general.

Some elders wish to encourage the young to learn more songs, dances and laments pertaining to their descent group, items that can be performed during ceremonial proceedings such as tangihanga (funerals). They may encounter difficulty drumming up the same kind of enthusiasm, as performances such as tangi (laments) and moteatea (ancient sung and chanted compositions belonging to a descent group) are not the stage-grabbing, choreographed weaponry and poi displays currently displayed at festivals:

> All this running around on the stage, this choreography, we never did that! Running in and out in circles and so on. In commercial contexts they won't select you unless you've got the choreography now. But this 'kapa haka' is modern Maori. You learn contemporary things, sing in the modern Maori language, and to contemporary tunes. This is not old Maori. On Monday nights down at Tunohopu we teach Moteatea so the younger ones can come and learn them. They asked me to teach them up at the polytech but I can't do that. These are Ngati Whakaue songs. They come from our tupuna, our koromatua who we descend from. To learn them is a spiritual experience.

From the late nineteenth century poi dances were performed to waltzes played on violin or accordion, in the early twentieth century theatrical performances incorporated Alfred Hill's romantic compositions, and wartime action songs borrowed from European dance hall hits, a syncretism mirrored in the experimental and innovative engagement with new forms of clothing and materials. These

innovative borrowings contributed to vigorous local forms and practices that have long been considered a part of Maori culture, and they endure in the present (in fact, favourite wartime action songs were performed by the audience in the intervals between competing groups at the national festivals in 2001).

Yet recent changes occurring amongst a younger generation of performing groups reveal a strong desire to remove syncretic styles of performance and dress from their repertoire. In so doing, their agenda bears some overlap with the aims of early twentieth century colonial authorities, such as Augustus Hamilton of the colonial museum, Laurence Birks of the tourist department, and the Rotorua photographer Arthur Iles, in their attempts to reconstruct an imagined pre-European past (see chapter five, section 5.4). Through this overlap of agenda, early twentieth century projects of romantic imagination have become sources for Maori re-imaginings of pre-European times in the present. For example, the costume worn by women of the kapa haka group Te Matarae-I-Orehu[41] was inspired by an early twentieth century photographic portrait of Riripeti Horne (figure 6.38), a high-ranking woman of Ngati Pikiao, taken by Arthur Iles in around 1904. Whilst this pose was arguably in part a romantic fiction of a colonial photographer's nostalgia for pre-European times when Maori wore woven garments (rather than the European fashions adopted by this time), the image ought not be reduced to Iles' romantic imagination alone. It is not only the style of dress that captivates and inspires her Ngati Pikiao descendants to imitate her appearance today (figure 6.39), but also the very powerful presence of their ancestor Riripeti Horne, captured in her portrait.

Men's costume is noticeably more revealing than women's, partial nudity having been adopted in an attempt to recreate appearances of pre-European times, but also to reveal puhoro (thigh and buttock tattoo designs). Some of the elder generation find this out of keeping with the present. As one elder exclaimed, "Now people are wearing nothing in the cold to be traditional. Running around with nothing on? Those days are over!" Since the introduction of Christianity with its concomitant adoption of European clothing (which in the Rotorua region occurred

[41] Te Matarae-I-Orehu formed in 1995 under the tutorship of Wetini Mitai-Ngatai and paramount elder Irirangi Tiakiawa. The group is named after the homeland of the Ngati Rongomai hapu of Ngati Pikiao, Te Arawa, on Lake Rotoiti. Initially membership of the group came from within Ngati Rongomai but today extends into Te Arawa as well as other descent groups.

Figure 6.38 Portrait of Riripeti Horne, Ngati Pikiao (Te Arawa), Ngati Makino, by Arthur Iles, Rotorua, early twentieth century (Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, catalogue number OP2682)

Figure 6.39 Te Matarae-I-Orehu (Ngati Pikiao, Te Arawa) performing at the Aotearoa Traditional Maori Performing Arts Society (ATMPAS) biennial national competition, Auckland, 2002 (Photograph: ATMPAS)

from around the 1830s, see chapter two, pages 87-89), Maori understandings of what constitutes bodily modesty, and of what parts of the body may or may not be appropriately revealed (for example, in relation to women's chests) were affected by the accommodation of new Christian ideas and practices (Cory-Pearce 2005). These understandings endure in the present, such that people cannot disarticulate themselves from layers of colonial history simply by peeling off most of (but significantly not all of) their clothing. This highlights the impossibility of such reconstructive projects as our imaginings of the past are unavoidably conditioned by historical experience.

It is striking that not all groups in the region engage in such imaginative reconstructions. Tuhourangi Ngati Wahaio, whose attitude towards such ventures has already been noted (page 348), maintain a performance style that is unabashedly influenced by a heritage of entertaining tourists for over a century. Despite the shift to hotel contract work, the Tuhourangi Ngati Wahiao group spans two or three generations. As a member of a different group concurs, "Tuhourangi are particularly staunch in keeping their own kapa haka group. I was in the group once, so it's not that they say you absolutely have to be Tuhourangi, but it just didn't feel right".

Differences of opinion and practice between groups and between generations seem to revolve around a popular misconception that culture has been lost as a result of colonial intrusion, and can be restored by removing modern elements in order to 'decolonise' oneself. Given that what constitutes culture has not been lost but has changed as a dynamic process of enduring the historical experience of colonisation, aspects of modernity incorporated into concert party repertoires that have already become understood by elder generations as forming part of their culture, rather than being rejected as instances of 'cultural colonisation', are better understood as forms of creative resilience that have enabled some amount of accommodation to the impacts of colonisation.

In their efforts to recreate a pre-European style of costume, Te Matarae-I-Orehu performers encountered material as well as ontological limitations. Attempts to use raupo poi were rejected as performers found them impractical. They broke easily and did not create the loud percussive sound made by the large foam-filled plastic poi used today (figure 6.40). Similarly, the woven flax belts adopted by men

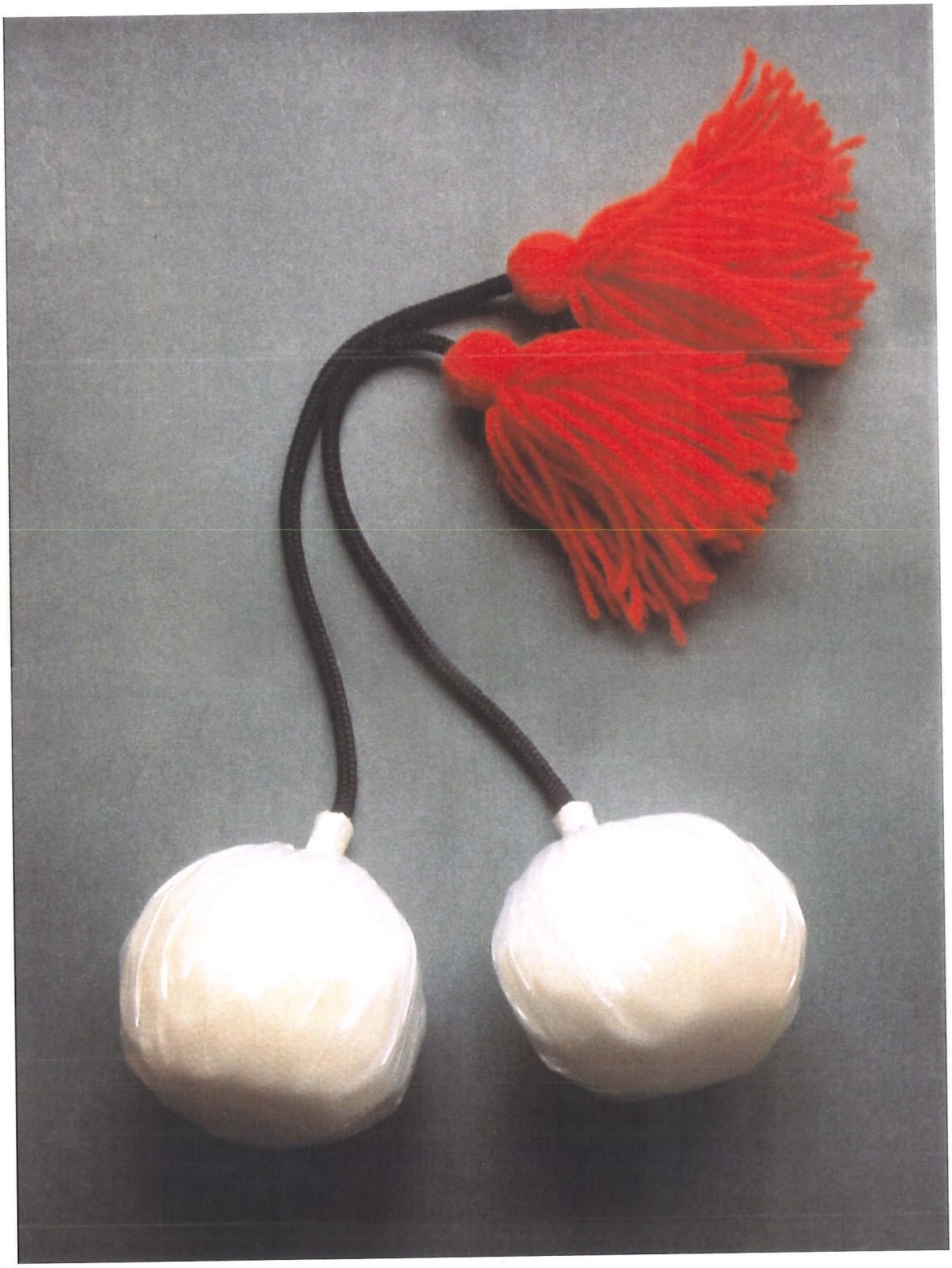

Figure 6.40 Foam, netting and plastic poi with nylon cords and wool tassels, of the kind used in performing arts festivals and tourism concert work today, length 42cm, Rotorua, 2002 (Gift from Zella Morrison-Briars)

and women broke after several performances, as the fibre was not as durable as the wool used to make taniko-look belts worn today by men in concerts, and the convenient all-in-one dresses that women usually wear, with piupiu over the top (figure 6.41). In these dresses, which replace earlier woollen taniko pari (see figure 6.18), the bodice is made using a cross-stitch tapestry technique, which is quicker to produce than taniko weaving (figure 6.42). Although piupiu making has been greatly supported by the popularity of competitive performing arts since the post-war period as the percussive sound of the flax thrums is preferred to plastic piupiu (which tend to be used more in hotel concert work or worn by young children)[42]; whatu and taniko cloak weaving techniques and whariki mat and kete plaiting techniques have not been fostered by cultural clubs and tourist concert work because such fine and fragile garments are impractical on the competitive stage, as they are for the rigours of daily and nightly hotel concert work.

In conclusion to her research on the impacts of tourism on Maori arts, Te Awekotuku inferred that unlike carving, which she argued had been aesthetically compromised by the need to mass-produce cheap carvings, weaving was considered by Arawa women to have been minimally impacted by tourism as it was done for an exclusively Maori market (Te Awekotuku 1981: 142). Although accurately reflective of the ethnographic period of the research, this position requires historical situation. As has been demonstrated here, weaving techniques formerly used in the manufacture of costumes for concert parties and the miniature garments worn by souvenir dolls have been gradually displaced by imported techniques, materials and manufacturing processes in the early twentieth century and from the post-war period to create items that were economical, hardwearing and amenable to secular use. Such changes, brought about by the industrialisation of production and by changes in tourism concert work and the increasingly popular arena of competitive performing arts, can be traced to a deeper history of uptake of manufactured materials since around the mid-nineteenth century, detailed in chapters three and four.

Te Awekotuku's ethnographic observations were made at a moment when labour-intensive fragile garments had come to exist apart from the tourist market, both directly as souvenirs, and indirectly as costume worn by Maori performing

[42] First observed by Mead (1969: 193-4) the same is true today, as literally hundreds of piupiu are made in Rotorua around the time of a national festival.

Figure 6.41: All-in-one dress worn by women today in concert party work, with a piupiu wrapped over the top around the waist. The bodice is made using coloured wools worked in tapestry cross-stitch technique, which is faster than taniko weaving and is used here to create bigger, bolder patterns suited to the stage. The skirt is machine-sewn from cotton. Length 94cm (Private collection)

Figure 6.42 Detail of a pari (bodice) demonstrating the use of cross-stitch tapestry technique, using red, white and black wools (Made by the author at Ngati Ranana London Maori Cultural Group)

concerts for tourists, but remained an integral component in Maori ceremonial proceedings. The exhibition, *Te Maori*, is a case-in-point. Woven garments, although absent from the international exhibition, were worn by Maori elders during ceremonial proceedings, indicative of a discrepancy in a growing national and international audience for Maori art that did not receive fibre works with the same enthusiasm as sculptural forms carved in wood, bone and stone, perhaps due to the perception of the former as handicrafts, a less aesthetically and commercially valued category than sculpture altogether. Such interpretations fail to acknowledge the parity between weaving, plaiting and binding as essential structural components in the construction of a wide range of Maori forms, from architecture, to canoes, weaponry and personal ornaments.

Despite initial exclusion, subsequent to *Te Maori* many exhibitions have been held since the late 1980s in New Zealand and elsewhere that incorporate fibre works[43]. From this period a younger generation of fibre artists emerged, including Maureen Lander, Jacqueline Fraser, Shona Rapira Davies, Lisa Reihana, the Hetet whanau (extended family) and Tina Wirihana, who adapted the skills learned from creating customary forms such as kakahu (garments), kete (baskets) and tukutuku (reed panelling) to create sculptural forms and fibre work installations effective in gallery settings[44]. Adopting a strategy of deploying a wide range of new materials and techniques – from electrical fibres to metalwork and digital media – to create highly innovative forms that continued to emulate aspects of customary ones, these works are foreshadowed in late nineteenth and early twentieth century experimental weaving, including the colourful cloaks and Victorian fashion items detailed in chapter four (section 4.5), and the tukutuku panel designs for Rangitihi house described in chapter five (section 5.5).

Beginning with the establishment of the Aotearoa Te Moananui-a-Kiwa Weavers (the national weavers collective) in 1983, numerous other weaving collectives have been established to encourage the sharing and spread of weaving and associated specialist skills, such as plant husbandry and dying techniques,

[43] Subsequent national and touring exhibitions incorporating fibre works include *Taonga Maori* (1989); *Whatu Aho Rua* (1992); *Karanga, Karanga* (1986); *Te Ao Hurihuri* (1987) and *Pu Manawa* (1993).

[44] See Adsett et al (1996) for a wide variety of artists' accounts of works produced in the late 1980s, and Smith (2002) for artists' accounts of more recent works, including fibre art works.

through regional and national hui (gatherings) on marae or in similar collective settings. Mareikura[45] is one such collective established in 1998, in which adept weavers record techniques and styles preserved in museum and private collections around the world, and disseminate their knowledge to practising weavers through wananga (collective teaching sessions). In this way the mahi tuku iho – skills and knowledge handed down from ancestors – offer new pathways of learning to weavers in the present.

Christina Hurihia Wirihana, a member of Mareikura and a lecturer in fibre arts at Waiariki Polytechnic, Rotorua, holds regular wananga at her Ngati Pikiao people's marae, Uenukumairarotonga at Lake Rotoiti, to teach traditional muka fibre dying methods using tree barks and ashes. In a recent exhibition 'Whakapatari – Challenging'[46], Christina Wirihana displayed works that deliberately challenge our perception of Maori fibre arts and industry. Inspired by scaffolding techniques used by her brother in the construction industry, in which riggers resolve the technical problem of binding overlapping rods firmly and safely into place, she applied ancient lashing techniques of the tukutuku construction process and whariki plaiting techniques to Perspex rods and copper wire to create fresh, light turapa (tukutuku) panels that transpose an architectural form into a distinctly sculptural one (figure 6.43).

Dramatically lit, the iridescence of coloured Perspex recalls the sheen of fine muka making these works appear light and fibre-like, quite unlike the denseness usually associated with industrial materials and construction. In place of the criss-cross patterns formed by kiekie bindings (see figure 6.5), droplets of light shimmer across the surface of Perspex rods refracted by structural holes drilled through their surfaces. Each piece embodies past and present ideas and practices, mediating between skills acquired from tupuna (ancestors) as they are applied to industrial materials to create feats of artistic engineering that challenge patrons and public to consider Maori fibre arts in a new light. Priced from $75 - $6500, these artworks are also art-commodities that challenge the market to recognise the specialist capacities involved in their creation.

[45] Mareikura refers to a female supernatural being, or a noble woman (Ryan 1999: 79)
[46] Opened at Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa, Rotorua Museum, August 2, 2002

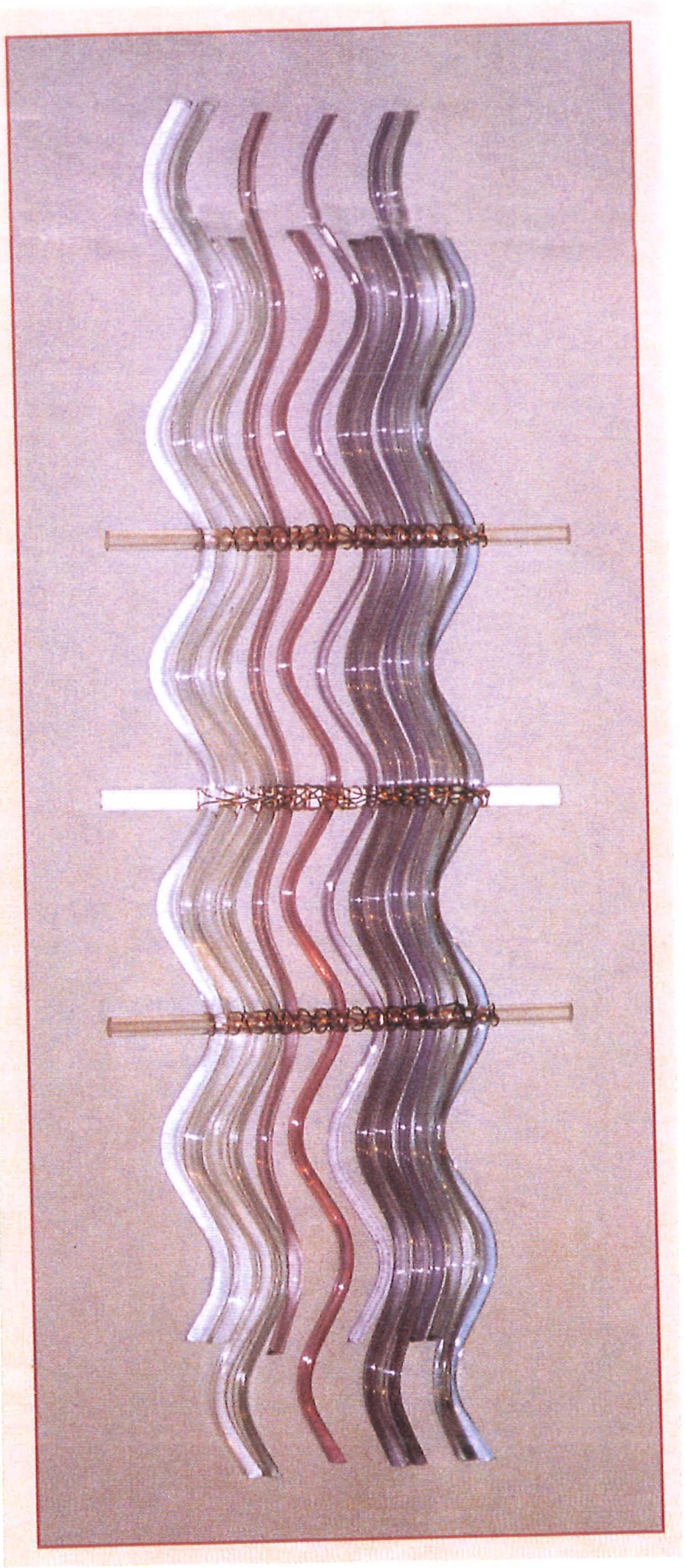

Figure 6.43 Turapa from the exhibition 'Whakapatari, Challenging', new works by Christina Hurihia Wirihana, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, March 2002, length 52cm, NZ$550 (Photograph: exhibition catalogue)

Today a very wide range of woven works are available in urban gallery settings ranging from more customary forms such as fine kete muka by Valerie Parks (figures 6.44, 6.45) fetching from two to three thousand dollars each; to woven, sculptural forms such as Tina Wirihana's; to fibre and light installations made by Maureen Lander and Jacqueline Fraser[47]. As present weavers strive to pass on knowledge and skills received from a deeper ancestral past, such concerns are practised in conjunction with an interactive exploration of materials and designs in their surroundings. They create forms that both embody ancestral knowledge whilst also anticipating the future directions art forms might take, in a materialisation of the cognitive that brings to mind Gell's theoretical notion of 'protensions' and 'retentions' in an artistic oeuvre (1998: 232-242). However, these works, and further examples given in the remainder of this chapter, transcend a key limitation of Gell's argument: when discussing western European art, Gell drew upon the individual works of twentieth century artists (*ibid*: 242-251). By comparison, when discussing Pacific arts his examples were limited to nineteenth century materials and to artworks understood as sets of collective oeuvres, or 'material cultures', produced by people whose culture somehow existed in isolation from wider social, material and commercial influences (*ibid*: 251-258). In so doing, Gell contributed to an ongoing reification of difference and distance that is a legacy of anthropology's culture.

6.8 Patronage relations in the present

Today practising artisans continue to create individual or collective works for relations, for marae and for other community projects, typically working for koha (gifts), which can be anything from a modest remuneration, to regional materials such as South Island pounamu (nephrite, greenstone), paraoa (whalebone), regional delicacies such as kaimoana (shellfish), or other useful goods, such as tools, electrical appliances and vehicles. Weavers obtain preferred varieties of harakeke (flax) and other plants from each other, or exchange regional materials through whanau (extended family) and other connections. For example, someone from an inland area might gather kiekie from the bush for tukutuku panelling and exchange

[47] See Adsett, Whiting and Ihimaera (1996) and Thomas (1999a) for accounts of their recent works.

Figure 6.44 Kete muka with fine lines of taniko pattern and blue pukeko feathers, 19cm x 24cm, by Valerie Parkes, 2002, G2 FhE Galleries, Auckland, NZ$2400

Figure 6.45 Kete muka with a golden taniko border and covered with pheasant feathers, the muka has been coloured with vegetable dyes using customary techniques, 18cm x 21cm, by Valerie Parkes, 2002, G2 FhE Galleries, Auckland, NZ$3000

this with whanau in the South Island for mutton-bird feathers. These kinds of visits and exchanges in themselves play an important role in maintaining extended family relationships.

In addition to these sorts of procedural exchanges, some weavers express a strong sense of attachment to the things they make. As they take so long to produce, they may become considered a part of the weaver, fostering a strong preference to give them to relatives rather than sell them to strangers. Presentations of precious woven garments often take place at hui (ceremonial gatherings). When visiting a host group for a tangihanga (funeral), a woven cloak may be presented ceremonially to the bereaving family, in an exchange known as tuku. Through such direct association with the deceased, garments become ancestral taonga, imbued with mana and tapu (ancestral authority and sacredness). The recipient family of a tuku presentation become custodians rather than owners, as items received in this way must not be sold on. They may be passed on to the next generation in the recipient group, or returned to the presenting family when the occasion is right.

Taonga are usually placed in the care of senior whanau (family) members, although nowadays whanau trusts often place them on long-term loan to museums. This is especially so with fragile woven articles, as museum conservation facilities can assist in the preservation of garments for future generations, a usage which adapts the role of museums to an important aspect of Maori tikanga, or customary philosophy, as noted in the quote at the beginning of this chapter. Museum curators in a major national institution recall that from the 1980s people began to request to borrow cloaks and other items of dress for occasions such as graduations, prize-giving, swearing into a new profession, or appearances in television and film productions. Whilst requests to borrow items were not new, what had changed was the request to borrow kakahu (garments) belonging to other families, through more loosely defined relationships of ethnic or tribal descent, of being Maori or of being Te Arawa for example. As a kuia on a regional museum advisory committee explained to me:

> A kakahu is clothing. You don't just give your kakahus away to every Tom, Dick and Harry. It's like taking off your dress and saying, 'Well here take this'. You can't because that's not yours. She said she's Te Arawa. I said so are you and I, but we don't do that. Kakahus belong to families.

Today kaumatua and kuia (men and women elders) sit on museum committees and advise on loans. As a kaumatua on a regional committee commented,

> Now if people want to borrow some kakahu or whatever, they have to go through our committee. First they've got to have consent of the family. And this is a protective thing.

Created through customary forms of patronage, presented through ceremonial tuku exchanges, and managed by senior whanau members and trusts, priceless ancestral taonga continue to circulate in extended familial networks beyond the commercial market[48]. As these modes of circulation afford little opportunity to earn a living, some people also sell works to retail gallery outlets. In these avenues Maori compete with other practising artists, some of who may draw upon Maori designs, imagery or native materials to lend a loosely regional flavour to their work, or to appeal more directly to an expanding national and international market for ethnic design.

To capture this market, it is helpful if works 'look Maori' and if artists 'sound Maori'. For example, works can use distinctive Maori motifs, techniques and styles, and artists can adopt a Maori name, or label their works with a tribal affiliation, key identifiers in today's mixed marketplace. As artist and businesswoman June Grant recently commented, "Europeans and North Americans have a history of appreciating art by indigenous people and they are prepared to pay for it"[49]. By marketing her work along with other Maori artists through a gallery in Vancouver, June Grant aims to reach a market of international collectors and other indigenous audiences in response to what she identifies as a global trend in acquiring indigenous art[50].

In this context, it has become beneficial to be identified as a Maori artist. To this end a trademark, 'Toi Iho Maori Made', designed by a group of senior Maori artists and funded by Creative New Zealand (the arts council of the New Zealand government) provides a means of officially certifying 'Maori Arts and Crafts' and 'Maori artists' (figure 6.46). Given the breadth of work produced by generations of artists graduating from formal arts training since the 1960s, compared to the

[48] For insurance purposes it has been necessary for museums to estimate their monetary value. Cloaks woven by established master weavers are valued in the region of $50,000.
[49] June Northcroft Grant, *Rotorua Review,* March 5, 2002
[50] June Northcroft Grant referring to a forthcoming exhibition at the Spirit Wrestler Gallery, Vancouver, 'Canada wants our art', *Rotorua Daily Post,* January 18, 2002.

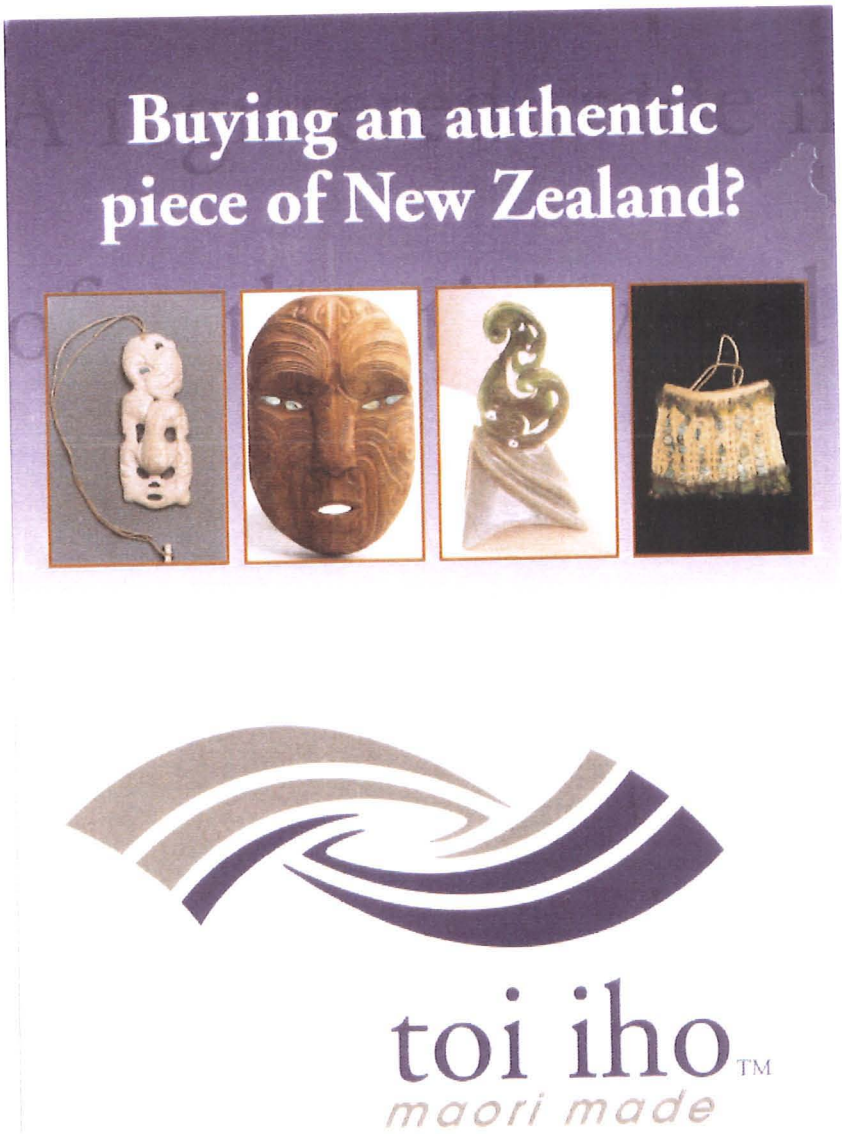

Figure 6.46 'Toi Iho Maori Made', a trademark initiative launched by Creative New Zealand (Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa), in 2001 (Source: Creative New Zealand promotional literature, 2001)

unambiguously Maori-looking works produced in settings such as the Rotorua School, by the 1990s definitional debates about what constitutes 'Maori art' had come to dominate the arts scene[51]. Launched in 2001, a trademark initiative that requires the definition and application of what continue to be widely debated categories and concepts, by a panel of arts specialists employed by the arts council, is likely to be highly contentious.

By targeting a growing market for 'ethnic arts', the trademark initiative intends to create better financial returns for certified Maori artists, which in turn, it is hoped, will provide incentive to produce high quality artworks, rather than the mass-produced cheap souvenirs fostered by the tourism end of the market. Basic ideals of the initiative are reminiscent of the Arts and Crafts movement of the early twentieth century (chapter five, section 5.6). Both are concerned to foster the production of quality designs in response to a decline in technical virtuosity brought about by the industrialisation of production. The socialist ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement failed to materialise however, and this initiative may risk a similar pitfall: given that the industrialisation of production has already priced many out of the art market, quality artworks may become the preserve of middle-class intellectuals, arts specialists and collectors. The 'kitsch' that the privileged scorn remains, as I have suggested in this chapter, the habitus of the masses.

Given that an unmistakeably similar Quality Mark scheme proposed in 1974 did not eventuate (see page 332-334), with the establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975 and the submission of a cultural and intellectual property claim to the Waitangi tribunal (WAI 262) accepted in 2001, the situation appears to have turned around[52]. However, as with requests to museums to borrow garments through

[51] Debates to do with what Maori art ought to look like; whether it ought to be made by a person of Maori descent, and if so, how much Maori descent; whether a Maori kaupapa or theme needs to be explicit; whether artists ought to observe kawa and tikanga (customary procedures and protocols) when making artworks; whether the category of Maori 'Art' (in the western European sense of the term) is a misnomer, and other issues upon which opinions vary widely; for discussion of these and other issues from the perspective of various artists see Adsett, Whiting and Ihimaera (1996); Jahnke (1998) and Huhana Smith (2002). Similar issues continued to dominate discussion and debate at a recent conference on 'Indigenous Art and Heritage and The Politics of Identity', June 6-9 2002, Massey University, Palmerstone North.

[52] Submissions for the WAI 262 claim are detailed in 'Protecting Intellectual and Cultural Property', *Te Manutukutuku,* Haratua/June 2001: 8, published by the Waitangi Tribunal, New Zealand Government, Wellington. Connections between this claim and arguments for the need to establish a Maori Made trademark are articulated 'Protecting Matauranga Maori – The Waitangi Tribunal Claim

claims of cultural or tribal right (see page 365), not all people are comfortable with the philosophical implications of cultural and intellectual property discourse and resultant legislation for Maori beliefs and practices. As a staff member at the Maori Arts and Crafts Institute observed:

> 'Cultural property'? We don't call it that! It's alienating ourselves, buying into the same legal system that's alienated us from the start. Instead we should follow local customs, local kawa. Kawa is a way of achieving tikanga. Can we have business economic development within kawa? Yes! We've been doing that for over a hundred years. It is why our customary practice has remained strong, by balancing or equating our system with another.

At the coalface, practitioners seem more concerned with the nature of patronage relations in the retail end of the market. Unlike established artists who trade on their renown, it is struggling artists at the bottom end of the marketing chain who would benefit the most from trademark niche marketing. They are also the least able to pay for its use. Hence some suggest the trademark be aimed primarily at major distributors, retailers and gallery outlets. Others point out that retail patronage has to change, to improve working conditions for practitioners:

> A trademark might enlighten retailers as to what quality is. It might educate them. But it does not do away with the real issue: if I give this work on consignment I can't live. I won't get paid until it's sold. Payment terms are inflexible, but only as inflexible as the people in charge of retail.

As one artist working in Rotorua complained,

> Mad House and Best of Maori Tourism are different because they're Maori run, but some [retailers] only pay on sale, and begrudgingly low prices at that. Then I see them in their windows marked up, sometimes as much as three hundred percent! They put on such a high price they take ages to sell, and we're stuck waiting for the sales. It doesn't bother them, they know it will eventually sell and they'll make their mark up.

These conditions recall the kinds of working relations experienced by Te Arawa working on projects for the government tourist department and major museums in the early twentieth century, when people were paid little and after considerable delays that made their lives difficult (see chapter five, sections 5.4 and 5.5). The fact that such patronage relations continue to exist, points to an ongoing discrepancy between celebrating Maori artworks on the one hand, and perpetuating

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to Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights: A paper prepared for the Hui on the Maori-Made-Mark, Maori Cultural Centre, Rotorua, 28 September 2000', unpublished paper by Maui Solomon, Barrister.

disadvantageous working conditions and impoverishment of Maori people on the other. Although some retailer galleries, notably those that are Maori owned or Maori managed, set positive examples of how commercial patronage relations could be.

6.9 Portraiture, intimacy and effect

> See, we see a photograph, we look beyond the person, and we think of all the children and grandchildren, it goes right back[53]

To conclude I want to return to a point made earlier in relation to manufactured souvenirs – that the mana and tapu of persons and things can extend into their image in other material forms. This concept not only transcends western European normative distinctions between animate people and inanimate things, it also problematises the presumption of a straightforward relationship between objects and the location of authorship. To explore these areas, in the concluding section of this chapter I focus on one key example – the place of portraiture in the arts of the wharetupuna (ancestral meetinghouse) and marae ceremonial performance.

The rapidity with which portraiture of Maori subjects made by settler artists became incorporated into the meetinghouse setting and marae ceremonial proceedings is arresting. By the 1890s, photographic portraits were displayed at tangihanga (funerary rites) and in meetinghouses as standard practice (Binney 1992; Salmond 1992; Neich 1994: 133), extending the concept that houses embody a descent group's genealogy to encompass the recently deceased. In pre-Christian times, the memory and physical presence of deceased kin was maintained through fashioning objects from preserved body parts, such as exhumed bones made into personal ornaments or musical instruments, and moko mokai, specially preserved heads brought out on important occasions such as the tangihanga (funerary observations) of an important leader (Robley 1896: 159-160; Taylor 1855; Oppenheim 1973). In the nineteenth century portraiture perhaps offered a novel mode in which to continue these practises, translated into a more acceptable material mode within a framework of accommodated Christian beliefs, that of 'art' rather than preserved body parts.

[53] In conversation with Kaumatua Wihapi Te Amohau Winiata, Te Whare Taonga o Te Arawa Rotorua Museum, August 27, 2001

Today portraits from this period are revered as ancestral taonga, so much so that descent groups have spent thousands of dollars at auction to repatriate oil paintings and photographs of tupuna (ancestors) back to their descent group region, where they are received with powhiri ceremonies to celebrate their homecoming[54]. The perception of such works as ancestral embodiments questions the assumption that they are the creations of colonial artists alone. Instead, by considering portraits as multiply authored creations I want to make some tentative suggestions as to why the genre of portraiture has had such rapid, powerful and enduring appeal in Maori settings.

Marae ceremonies perform a spiritual mediation between the generations of ancestors, the living and the unborn of a descent group, that takes place through ritual encounters between host and visiting parties on the marae-atea (ceremonial courtyard). When a visiting party are called onto the marae through the spiritual medium of the karanga, a call performed by the kai karanga, a senior female elder of the host group, and returned by the kai whakautu, a senior female elder of the visitors, this awakens the spiritual communion between past, present and future generations of both groups, as the living and unborn are brought back from Te Po, the unseen generative dimension, into Te Ao, the present. A passageway between seen and unseen dimensions opens up through the papa tapu, the sacred ancestral soil of the marae-atea (ceremonial courtyard), and through the powhiri, the ceremonial welcome, in which mihimihi (greetings) and whaikorero (speeches) are exchanged, intensified by performances of moteatea (chant), waiata (song) and haka (posture dance)[55].

Following these proceedings, in which hosts and guests become bound together as one people, the group enters the meetinghouse, the body of the host group's foundational ancestor. The house is filled with an impressive array of carved,

[54] In 2002 Ngati Kahungunu purchased a portrait of their tupuna (ancestor) Horiana, painted by settler artist Gottfried Lindauer, at auction for NZ$101,000. Horiana, via her painted image, was repatriated to her ancestral marae with a powhiri (welcome ceremony) and then placed in the care of the regional museum (*Sunday Star Times*, July 14, 2002). Similarly, iwi (confederated descent groups) from the Whanganui River region aborted the auction of images of their tupuna (ancestors), taken in the late nineteenth century by settler photographer William Partington. The photographs were purchased by descendants for NZ$135,000, and repatriated to their descent group region with a full ceremonial welcome, before being placed in the care of Whanganui museum (*New Zealand Herald* Thursday September 20, 2001).

[55] My account of marae ceremonial proceedings is necessarily brief, but for detailed ethnographic accounts see Salmond (1975) and Tapsell (1997).

woven and painted artworks and photographs that embody the ancestry of the group, enclosing inhabitants in a warm web of whanaungatanga (kinship, connectedness). People greet the house and ancestors by name, speaking in the present tense, and may seek a photograph of a close relative to sleep under. As people come into close communion with generations of their forebears, brought physically in touch with one another through the arts of the meetinghouse and ceremonial performance, it is as if time has condensed in on itself. Topical debate continues into the night, in which genealogies are verbalised and relevant aspects of ancestral history are drawn into discussion because the ancestral 'past' is understood as lying ahead not behind, and is of constant relevance, offering a template to guide action in the present.

Neich observes certain conventions in the carving and painting of ancestral poupou in late nineteenth and early twentieth century meetinghouses. These he suggests concur with the understanding that the ancestral past is a continuous presence, in which time is not a quantitative abstraction but belongs to actions ordered by their relative position in a continual stream of events:

> Artifacts such as fighting clubs and ornaments were shown flat, in their characteristic view, rarely in edge profile. Major ancestral figures always stood upright in full-frontal view, this being the stance that most clearly displayed their characteristic features. The particular space about a figure was never defined, and the figure was never put in a landscape. A clear outline separated the figure from its ground, leaving it isolated without any spatial depth relationships. Thus the figure existed in imaginary ideal space (Neich 1994: 141).

A characteristic feature becomes a means of recognition, a sign that recalls a particular feat or achievement, such as a detail in tattoo design, a weapon, garment, basket or other implement. Physiognomic details were not considered essential attributes to convey, interrelationships between ancestors and the affects of their actions upon each other were. These formal stylistic conventions in turn relate to the role meetinghouse designs play in marae ceremonial performance, creating ancestors as co-present beings, and to the general philosophical precept that ancestors are alive and may be brought into co-presence with the living.

His description bears unmistakeable resemblance to the manner in which people frequently posed when having their portrait taken by colonial photographers: facing the photographer in a frontal profile, holding weaponry or displaying other items at a fully characteristic angle, and looking at the camera directly thereby

drawing the viewer's attention toward the faces of subjects, and away from the surrounding context which is merely a backdrop (compare for example, figures 3.2, 4.8, 4.10, 4.11 and 4.13). These poses, I suggest, are too deliberate and numerous in the colonial visual archive to be coincidental. However, there are also significant differences between the conventions observed by Neich and the effects of photographic technology. Photographs act as "visual incisions through time and space" (Edwards 2001: 3). Photographic images are fixed instances, hence subjects caught on camera become relegated to time past. In this sense photographs risk losing the timeless ancestral presence of conventional poupou, were it not for the capacity of portraiture to approximate some of these conventions.

In photographs where the distancing effects of a camera's single-point perspective vision are emphasised, for example in a photograph taken at an oblique angle, such as this portrait of members of the Papakura Party on tour with their model village to Australia in 1910 (figure 6.47), the photographer's oblique and distancing angle has been partially 'corrected' by the subjects, who turn to face the camera directly in a frontal pose. Photographs can also be manipulated after they have been taken. For example, in a similar image of the tour party, the surrounding landscape has been scrubbed out to create a clear separation of figure and ground (figure 6.48). As Neich observes for poupou design, this has the effect of isolating the subject, creating a flattened almost two-dimensional image with limited spatial depth. It is as if the frontal aspect of the house and the people have moved closer to the surface of the picture, into a more intimate engagement with the viewer. The effects of perspective are greatly reduced, limiting our sense of spatial and temporal distance such that the photograph approximates an ideal timeless presence[56].

In a similar image taken of members of the Papakura party, again at an oblique angle, the subjects turn toward the camera to visually correct the photographer's position (figure 6.49). Demonstrating a clear understanding of perspective effects, Makereti subsequently modified this image to create a portrait of

[56] This timelessness is not to be confused with a colonial primitivism that imagined 'the colonised other' to exist in a romantic past beyond the time of civilisation and modernity, as has been observed in most critical literature on the subject of nineteenth and early twentieth century imperial exhibitions in which colonised subjects participated (Fabian 1983; Greenhalgh 1988; Dibley 1997; Coombes 1994; Levell 2000; and others). My point is that these photographs cannot be reduced to these sorts of interpretation alone. They embody other significances overlooked by such critiques.

Figure 6.47 Manawanui house with Te Rangi Katukua, Makereti (Guide Maggie Papakura), Paora Tamati and Tiki Papakura, Clontarf, Australia, 1910 (Photograph: M24020-21 Green Album, page 17, Photograph 17.1, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum)

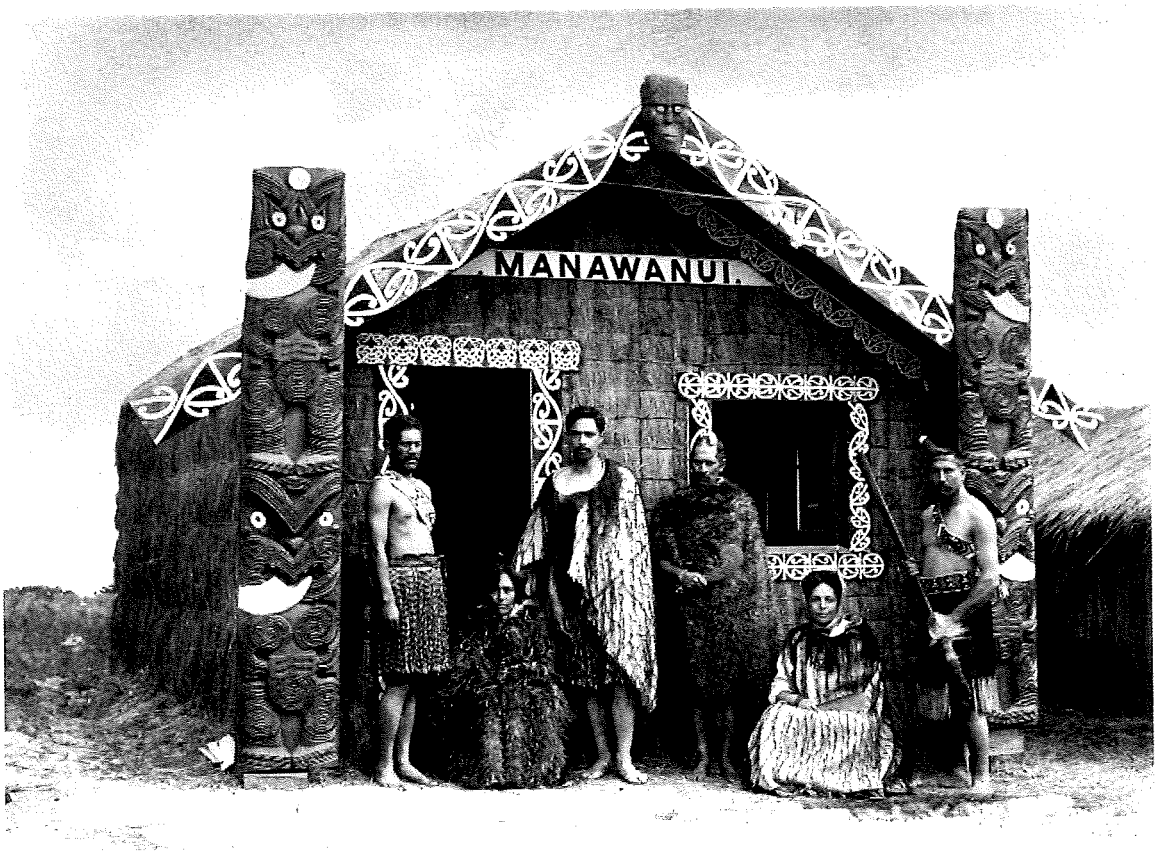

Figure 6.48 Manawanui house with Bella Thom, Tene Waitere, Makereti, Tiki Papakura and two others, Clontarf, Australia, 1910. This photograph has been manipulated to remove the background context and names of subjects (Photograph: B43A.46, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum)

Figure 6.49 Paora and Emire Tamati, Miriata, Tiahuia and Te Rangi Katukua stand in front of a wharepuni, Clontarf, Australia, 1910 (Photograph: M24020-21 Green Album, Page 15, Photograph 15.2 Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum)

Figure 6.50 Te Rangi Katukua, portrait in which the image has been manipulated to remove background context, the image is re-angled slightly to emphasise a frontal posture, and the taiaha blade has been overdrawn by hand to depict the flat, full blade (Photograph: B43A.53A, Makereti Collection, Pitt Rivers Museum)

Te Rangikatukua in which she deliberately removed the visual distortions created by single-point perspective, resulting in an image which approximates the ideal stylistic conventions noted by Neich (figure 6.50). The modified image has been tilted slightly to enhance the forward-facing posture of Te Rangikatukua's stance, and his taiaha, caught by the photographer's snapshot in edge profile, has been corrected by overdrawing to depict the characteristic broad face of the blade.

In nineteenth century Europe visual realism, achieved by the rules of single-point perspective, had become an established artistic convention. Yet despite the apparent objectivity of photography and artistic realism, images that observe single-point perspective lack information because they cannot portray whole subjects in one image. The viewer remains limited by the fixed vantage point and instant of time of the artist's gaze or a camera's snapshot. In the early twentieth century, mathematician Maurice Princet challenged his Parisian artist acquaintances (who subsequently became known as the Cubists) to break with the established conventions of artistic realism, provoking them to solve a new problem. 'You can easily represent a table by a trapezoidal form, to produce a sensation of perspective and create an image to correspond to the table you see. But what would happen if you decided to paint the table as an idea?" (Princet cited in Huyghe 1935)

Princet could have found the answer to his question in a drawing made by Maori chief Te Peehi Kupe of his facial moko, drawn entirely from memory in London in 1826 (figure 6.51)[57]. Whilst losing the look of realism, every detail of the design is included in the drawing. It is as if he unwrapped his skin and laid it onto a two-dimensional plane. The resultant form creates a visual synthesis of all possible vantage points into one omnipresent, omniscient view[58]. By conveying all necessary information in one image which can be held in the mind and reproduced from memory, Te Peehi's drawing demonstrates an important connection between the formal properties and materiality of arts and the containment and transmission of meaning (c.f. Gell 1998), a vital quality in a culture where knowledge about the past is customarily transmitted from memory and through things, rather than recorded in

[57] Note the similarities between Te Peehi's drawing (figure 6.51) and the stamp (figure 6.20) and T-Shirt (figure 6.27) described previously.

[58] Similar stylistic conventions are noted by Gell in relation to Marquesan tattooing and carving designs as essentially two-dimensional designs that wrap, like flattened out skins, around three-dimensional objects (1998; 1993).

Figure 6.51 Te Peehi Kupe's drawing of his facial ta moko design, drawn in England in 1826 (Robley 1896: 15)

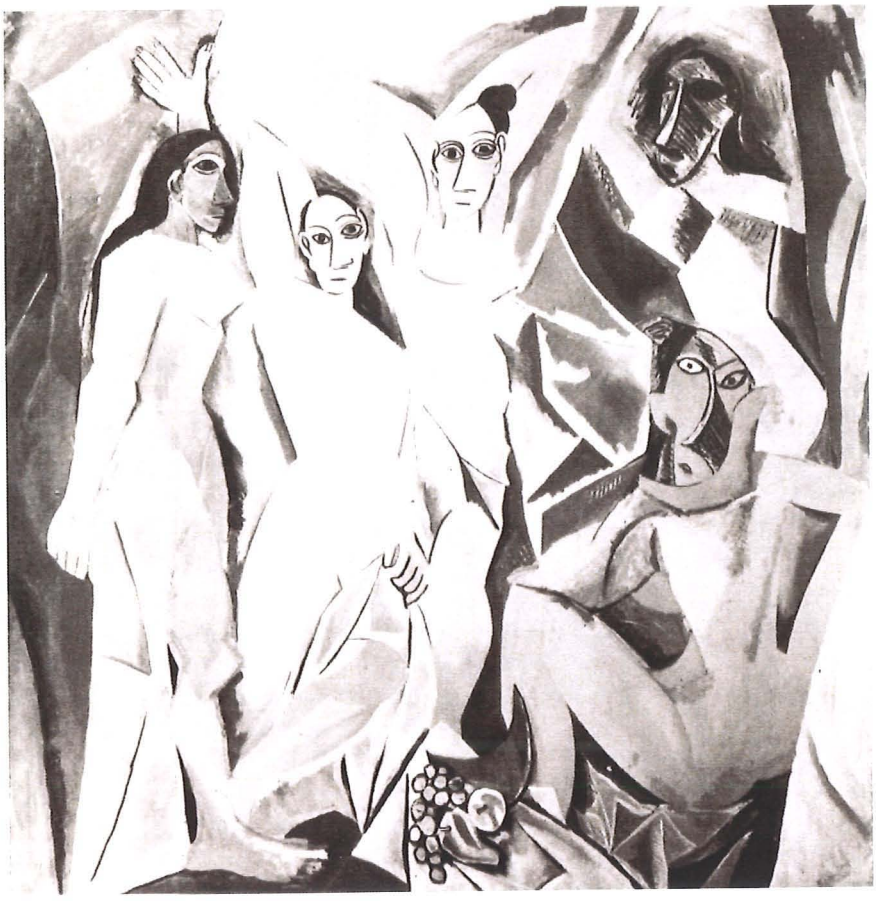

Figure 6.52 *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, 1907, oil on canvas, 244cm x 234cm, Pablo Picasso, Museum of Modern Art, New York, Lillie P. Bliss Bequest (Stangos 1991: plate 17)

texts. Te Peehi Kupe also drew the moko of his son and "gazed on it with a murmur of affection and delight, kissing it many times and, as he presented it, burst into tears" (Robley 1896: 16); his intimacy suggesting he considered the drawing to contain something of his son's presence.

Pablo Picasso's early twentieth century works formed attempts to resolve Princet's formal problem. In the painting *Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907) (figure 6.52), it is as if Picasso had walked around his subject synthesising all viewpoints into one image. There are striking resemblances between the technical problems he sought to resolve, and stylistic solutions long established in Maori, and in Pacific arts more generally. As with Te Peehi Kupe's drawing, Picasso's human figures appear flattened out onto the two-dimensional plane of the painting. Formally speaking, they would perhaps have made more sense to a Pacific audience than they did to his European viewers at the time. When displayed to the public, *Demoiselles d'Avignon* caused alarm. It was as if Picasso had committed physical assault upon the human body (Golding 1991: 51).

Like other European artists of the time, Picasso produced artworks in a period of firm belief in the authority of man's scientific observations where art was supposed to reproduce objective reality. At the same time, increasing secularisation fostered by scientific inquiry encouraged some artists to break with established conventions and express a sense of artistic individualism, just as Ngati Tarawhai carving exponent Tene Waitere experimented with perspective when making secular carvings for European patrons (chapter five, page 245), but adhered strictly to convention when making tapu carvings for Maori. Tene Waitere's experimentations in perspective – his carved 'snapshots' of ancestral time, possibly a technical solution to pressing European concerns to be told the what, where, when and how of Maori history – could conceivably have been inspired by the hundreds of postcards for sale in his immediate surroundings (see figure 5.5)[59].

[59] My suggestion is supported by Tene Waitere's graphic depiction of Kurangaituku on the door of Rauru house, which directly resembles Guide Sophia, probably the most photographed Guide at that time (see figure 4.10). The idea of copying visual likeness from a postcard would have been one step away from the copying of photographs of museum objects and illustrations in Hamilton's *Maori Art* that Tene Waitere and other carvers were encouraged to do by European patrons (Neich 1994: 143; Augustus Hamilton (1899) cited in Neich 2001: 201).

Like Maori artworks, European arts were not always produced for a secular market. When the conventions of single-point perspective and artistic realism were formalised in fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian renaissance painting, the Christian church remained the most influential patron. Renaissance artists were most likely deeply religious, adhering to sanctified conventions and creating religious artworks that were intended to affect their audience – Christian devotees – in particular ways. Recent computer analyses of Carlo Crivelli's *Annunciation* (1486) (figure 6.53), which depicts the Angel Gabriel's visitation of the Holy Virgin Mary, reveal the background figures in the painting to be greatly oversized[60]. However, the architectural components of the image were drawn with mathematical exactitude, implying Crivelli understood the rules of perspective perfectly. These discrepancies are unlikely to have been the naïve mistakes of an artist that did not understand Euclidean geometry. Instead, it seems more sensible to suggest Crivelli deliberately manipulated perspective (that size decreases proportionally with distance to convey depth) to create the intimacy of portraiture, whilst using perspective to create the visual illusion of the building's depth (Hart and Robson 1999).

Crivelli's painting thus maintains an intimate means of communion between Christian devotees and the divine, contributing to a corpus of Christian iconography and the perpetuation of Christian ideology, whilst also accommodating aspects of an alternative vision that was increasingly observational, rational and created from the standpoint of the mortal artist. Portrait photography continues to play an important spiritually mediating and memorialising role in Maori meetinghouses and in tangihanga and kawe mate ceremonies in the present (these funerary rites are detailed in chapter four, page 198). Portraiture is also deployed in other areas, inspiring costume style (as already noted, page 354) and contemporary artworks. A recent work by June Northcroft Grant, *Te Awa-I-Manukau* (figure 6.54), evokes the wharetupuna (ancestral house) with poupou designs painted in conventional form to embody the mana and tapu of genealogically distant tupuna (ancestors). These are alternated with early twentieth century photographic portraiture, forms that express the relative proximity of more immediate forebears, including Guides Makereti and Bella of Whakarewarewa. Hence distance in whakapapa (genealogy), measured in

[60] Given their size in the painting, in 'reality' they would be eleven feet tall (Hart and Robson 1999).

Figure 6.53 *L Annunciation*, Carlo Crivelli, 1486, oil on canvas, 207cm x 146.7cm (National Gallery)

Figure 6.54 *Te Awa-I-Manukau*, oil on totara timber, 1989, 130cm x 80cm, Tamaki Maori Village, Rotorua, 2002

genealogical layers of increasing mana and tapu rather than historical time is visually conveyed through the combination of highly tapu poupou with more secular photographic portraiture.

Like the pathway opened up by the karanga across the tapu space of the marae-atea, arts of the meetinghouse and artworks that evoke them are less passive illustrations and more active participants in a spiritual mediation between generations of descent lines. Like Crivelli's *Annunciation*, they form part of a visual technology that enables spiritual communion between the living and otherworldly ancestors and spirits. Most recently, June Grant made a startling break with convention, depicting herself in poupou form (figure 6.55). Conventionally poupou depict ancestors, which would imply June Grant had passed on. She chose to depict herself in this unconventional manner to powerfully convey a sense of her own recent journey towards Te Po, the unseen dimension, in her recent battle with breast cancer.

6.10 Affective things

Whilst I could have applied Kopytoff's frequently cited notion of biographical objects (1986) to trace shifts in the meanings of things as they travel through space and time – for example tracing the way in which a Maori carving or weaving acquired by a visitor to Rotorua in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century might subsequently have been transformed from ancestral taonga, to commodity, to souvenir, to ethnographic object, to primitive art and so on depending on changing social and historical context – these sorts of theoretical approach may give too much emphasis over to meaning and containment, reducing objects to passive reflections of an already existing container-like context.

Instead what I have attempted to suggest through detailed analyses of various changing forms and practices, are ways in which the formal and material properties of things might enable them to perform significant social roles, affecting those engaging with them in dynamic and mutually influential ways. By exploring a broad range of materials in a comparative manner, I offer an original contribution to recent literature concerned with the spiritually mediating capacities of Maori taonga that has tended to discuss unambiguously Maori forms, such as ancestral carvings (Tapsell 2000; 1997) and woven garments (Weiner 1992; Salmond 2001). What these more ambiguous and at times highly contentious examples offer, I hope, is a strong sense

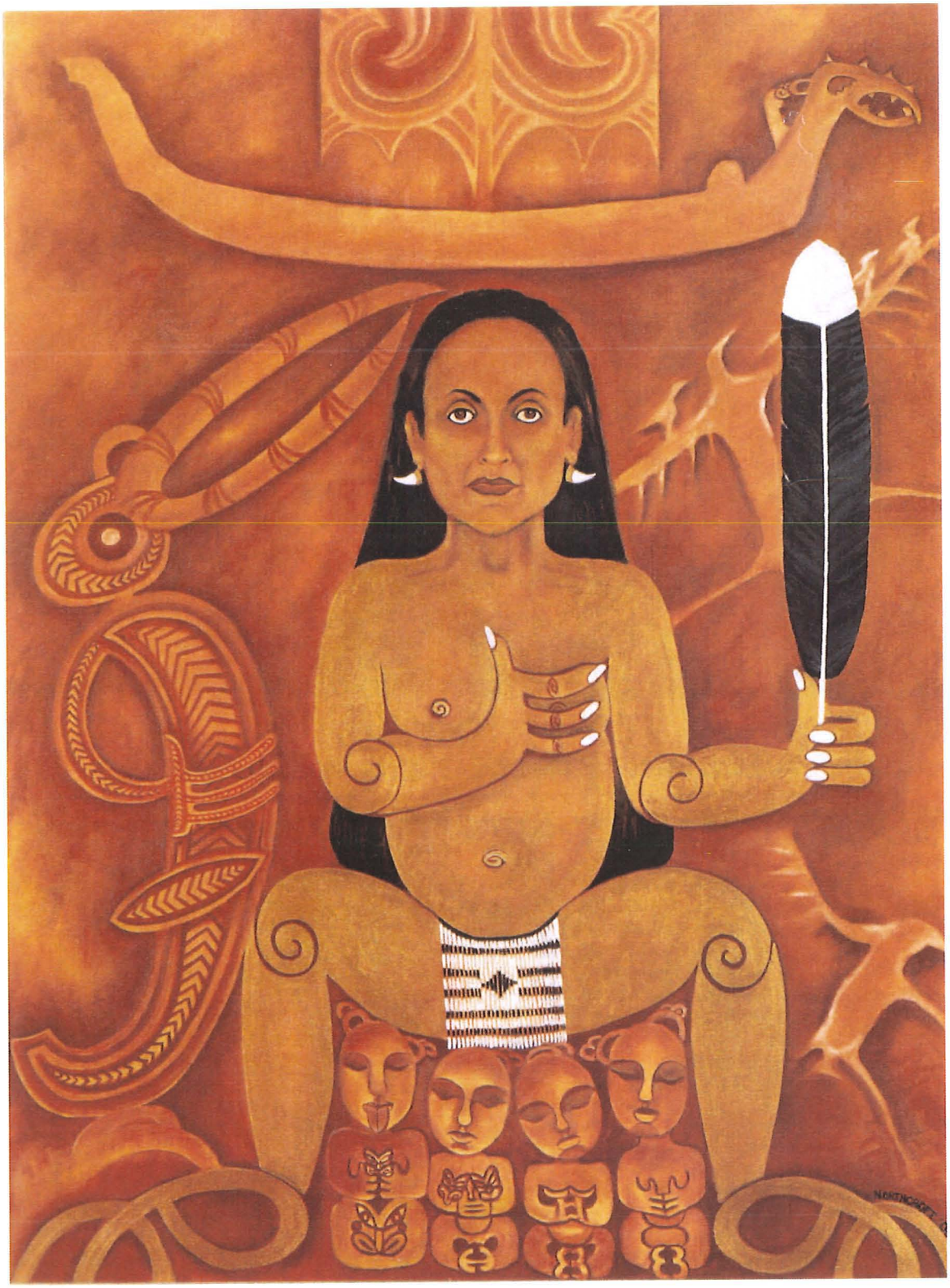

Figure 6.55 *Te Haerenga, The Journey*, Acrylic on canvas, 40 x 30 inches, Spirit Wrestler Gallery, Vancouver, 2003 (Illustration gift of June Northcroft Grant)

of the potential fruitfulness of approaches that reject a persistent, yet inaccurate anthropological convention – that groups of peoples live in isolated contexts, generating sets of cultures and material cultures reflective of that context – and allow for the possibility of a more relational world in which objects, persons and settings are mutually interactive and transformational. I develop this point further in my conclusions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

IN TOUCH WITH THINGS

Hutia te rito o te harakeke
Kei hea te komako e ko?
Ki mai ki ahau
He aha te mea nui o te ao?
Maku e ki atu
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata! [1]

7.1 Introduction

Driving this study has been a concern to improve upon some of the limitations in current theoretical approaches to the study of tourist arts and to art objects more generally in anthropology identified in the opening chapter of the thesis. Whilst in-depth regional and historical research into tourist arts (such as Jules-Rosette 1984; Steiner 1994; Phillips 1995, 1998; and others) have successfully restored the subject as a serious concern in anthropological study, following decades of marginalisation as a result of colonial discourses of evolutionary hierarchy, fatal impact, authenticity and salvage, these authors have primarily been concerned to explore tourist arts in terms of their social symbolic and communicative meanings. Although worthy concerns, these approaches have contributed to the detraction of attention away from the formal and material specificities of art objects as things, rendering objects as containers of meaning that reflect rather than interact with a surrounding context.

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[1] "Pull the centre shoot of the flax
Where will the bellbird sing?
If you were to ask me
What is the most important thing in the world?
I would reply to you
It is people, it is people, it is people!"

This whakatauaki (proverb) pertains to the harvesting of harakeke (flax) for weaving. It is believed that if the baby shoots are cut the new flowers will not form to feed the bellbird and the tui. This proverb and the weaving practice it pertains to articulate a philosophy of the connectedness and interdependence of all life forms: from the elder, mother, father and baby flax leaves, to the bird species that feed on them and seed them to people, as people in Maori oratory are figuratively interchangeable with birds.

Although restored as a subject of study within anthropological approaches to art, the study of tourist arts like the study of art more generally in anthropology has remained sidelined within the discipline as a whole, to a specialist concern with culturally relative aesthetics and symbolic meanings in the art forms of tribal (or formerly tribal) societies. In critique of this marginalisation, Alfred Gell (1998) insisted that art objects be understood as social agents active within fields of materially mediated social relations, hence he argued an understanding of the workings of objects, including art forms, is central to an understanding of the workings of social relations, the subject matter of anthropology.

Whilst Gell's theory of materially mediated agency restores a concern with the material and formal specificities of art objects, and could be applied to the workings of art objects anywhere, a limitation of his argument is its use of examples drawn from the works of individual, twentieth century Western artists in Europe compared, for example, to collectively produced stylistic oeuvres in the Pacific, presented in his argument as regional isolates. As such, Gell did not attend to the broader processes of globalisation, colonisation and the emergence of syncretic commodity art forms such as tourist arts in colonised or formerly colonised locales. My position is that it is not possible to approach the study of tourist arts without attending to these broader concerns, and the processes of cross-cultural borrowing and stylistic intermingling they fostered, as these are ineradicably formative processes in the emergence of tourist arts.

In this thesis I have been concerned to integrate aspects of these two strands of approach to create a study of tourist arts that does not reverse the bias from meaning to material, but instead seeks to engage with both concerns. The question posited at the beginning of this thesis then became one of how best to study tourist arts? Drawing from the strengths of these two strands – an art historical attention to detail in scrutinising the emergence of tourist art forms (Phillips 1998) combined with Gell's (1998) sophisticated and challenging theory of the agentive affects of material forms – I suggested adopting aspects of Keane's (2005) theory of signification which enables us to suspend in fertile tension a concern with both material and meaning through his notion of iconicity. Iconicity, Keane posits, is always a matter of potential, a resemblance selected from a multitude of possible

resemblances that lie latent or 'bundled up' in the materiality of things. By drawing a parallel between Gell's theory of materially mediated agency and Strathern's (1988) notion of materially distributed or partible personhood, I suggested that an additional concern with issues of appropriation and proprietorship that frequently surround the creation of syncretic art forms such as tourist arts can be explored through consideration of the nature of attachments between persons and things, or property relations.

7.2 A palpable past

Beginning with the hypothesis that the things visitors to a region could take away with them constituted not collections of their own making but 'artefacts of encounter', the thesis has provided a detailed regional case study of histories of encounter and exchange in the Rotorua region, through which a tourism industry emerged involving Maori art forms and services as key components. Initially incorporated into ongoing interactions between rival regional Maori descent groups, traders, missionaries and other settlers became enmeshed in local contests for place and valued locations and resources, their access to Maori things being both locally initiated and limited. Applying this hypothesis to a reconsideration of items from the Rotorua region in collections in Britain, the thesis moves from past to present and from museum collection to location of origin, evoking a palpable sense of the way in which encounters with the past can be mediated through things.

In exploring collections in Britain as indices of materially mediated social relations, a case study of Maori presentations made to British royal visitors during the height of British Imperialism suggested not only that the efforts of local peoples to negotiate politically influential relations with increasingly powerful colonial and imperial authorities were mediated through things, but also the limitations of these sorts of engagements and the ramifications of these limitations for colonised peoples. Although new forms and materials, such as red coloured cloth, imported feathers, military insignia and regalia, appear to have been locally taken up as forms that were powerful and efficacious because, rather than in spite of their borrowings, colonial and imperial perceptions of Maori ceremonial welcome and presentations as matters of imperial tribute and loyal devotion suggests a degree of incommensurability

between parties to colonial encounters that was more than a working misunderstanding: it rendered local concerns and objectives ineffectual. Rather than enabling a 'resistance' to colonial authorities, the dramatic decline in Maori autonomy, prosperity and welfare occurring at the close of the twentieth century suggests prevailing power relations placed considerable limitation upon the kinds of social effects that cross-cultural exchanges of material things could actually achieve.

During this traumatic period for Maori, when discourses of white racial superiority, displacement and subsequently assimilation provided moral justification for perpetuating disastrous conditions upon Maori people, discourses which informed a parallel salvage paradigm that deemed cultural artefacts made after around the 1920s to be unworthy of preservation. In enduring these difficult conditions, a Maori tourism industry offered a vital means of acquiring income, as well as fostering selective aspects of Maori artistic practices, such as house carving, weaving and performing arts modified to suit European preferences. At the same time, the promise of establishing a lucrative spa resort in the geothermal region of Rotorua placed intense pressure upon Maori to relinquish lands to private and state business interests, revealing the presence of a visitor industry to be something of a mixed blessing.

Whilst it is important to insist upon the colonial relations of inequity experienced by Maori, particularly during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries when customary handcraft skills were frequently displaced and numerous indigenous materials and species were pushed to extinction through the introduction of new goods, species and the industrialisation of manufacturing, to replace discourses of fatal impact and displacement or assimilation with those of colonial dominance and indigenous resistance may reverse the moral argument, yet nevertheless continues to endorse the discursive hegemony of colonial relations. Instead throughout this thesis, things that reveal indigenous countersigns are highlighted in an attempt to destabilise colonial hegemony – of two worlds, Maori and European, colliding in a defining moment of colonial rupture – to consider instead both a recent historical past in which Maori/European encounters have been mediated and accommodated through things with varying degrees of success, layered over a deeper ancestral past, arguing

that both trajectories continue to inform Maori social relations and practice in the present.

A clear example of this has been my reconsideration of colonial portraiture, a genre directly associated with the expansion of the tourism industry through the mass circulation of postcards and the display of peoples of empire in great exhibitions held in imperial centres during the close of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This genre has frequently been criticised in post-colonial literature concerned to demystify the colonial power relations embedded in photography, revealing images to be constructed primitivist fantasies conjured up by colonial photographers. These photographers are frequently lampooned as retailers of exotic stereotypes, who impose a sense of the timeless pre-modern upon colonial subjects (Maxwell 1999; Sutton-Beets 2000; Levell 2000 and others; a criticism aimed at colonial anthropologists as well, see Fabian 1983).

Instead of such demystifying approaches, which have rendered the colonised subject beyond representation, reinforcing a sense of colonial hegemony, my concern has been to consider images as multiply authored objects, bringing our attention back to the moment of their making and enabling a space for indigenous participation in this process. The argument I developed in relation to Maori adoption of the medium of portraiture was that an effect of timelessness established through the formal properties of an image – either through the actions of subjects themselves, or through post-photographic manipulation – appears to be a desirable rather than imposed effect, brought about by an overlap between formal conventions in Maori depiction of ancestral figures that ideally evoke a timeless presence, and the romantic imaginings of colonial photographers. This conjuncture was in a sense incommensurable – a non-encounter in which Maori and European recipients experienced the image differently, one as an ancestral continuum, the other as a nostalgia for an 'old time' Maori past informed by discourses of fatal impact and displacement – yet it remains significant in that it offers up an explanation for the current vastly contradictory gap between a post-colonial discourse concerned to rebuke these sources as the coloniser's primitivistic fantasies, and the enduring significance of colonial portrait photography as embodiments of ancestral presence to Maori descent groups today.

The capacity for portraiture to be rapidly incorporated into marae ceremonial proceedings, forming an integral component of tangihanga and kawe mate (funerary rites), and lining the interior walls of meetinghouses since the late nineteenth century may be explicable in terms of an approximation of stylistic conventions of poupou carving, conventions that make art forms timeless and capable of evoking an ideal ancestral continuum. Ancestral presence evoked by Maori art works, including portraiture, is surrounded by mana (ancestral agency) and tapu (sacredness) and ideally elicits ihi, wehi and wana amongst beholders, physically manifested as 'goose bumps' on the skin, shivering or fearful trembling and awe. As such, Gell's notion of captivation is useful here, as these forms are more to do with the mediation of an empowering ancestral efficacy than with aesthetic beauty in the Kantian sense.

Where ancestors are recognised as recently deceased family members, the genealogical connections evoked by the image evince an emotional recognition or aroha (compassion, affection), often expressed through conversing with and touching the image, or through tears. Displayed in whare tupuna and in smaller whanau tupuna whare (ancestral houses which memorialise the deceased of a family or larger descent grouping), spaces where families come together as a collective group, evoking a strong sense of whanaungatanga or connectedness regardless of the divisive effects of relocation to cities for employment, portraits assist in the materialisation of the networks of relationship that constitute a descent group, condensing them into a visual form that can be more easily memorised, as is consistent with a culture that places great emphasis upon embodied learning, oratory and memorisation. Through their formal properties as images that evoke a timeless ancestral presence, portraits and poupou carvings assist in the memorisation of the genealogical relationships that connect people to each other and to place (or conversely, in the case of unrelated groups, of the genealogical distance and difference informing relations of rivalry between them), suggesting that contrary to Gell's theory (1998), a concern with meaning needs to be integrated into a consideration of the socially agentive properties of material things.

7.3 Spirited gifts

Given that portraiture so closely resembles the human subject in the image, despite European normative assumptions of distinct boundaries between persons and things and of the individual agency of the artist or maker of a work, it is fairly straightforward to conceive of the abduction of agency (to borrow Gell's term) from the photographer or painter of a portrait to the subject. However I would like to draw some parallels between portraiture and the less overtly anthropomorphic artistic practice of weaving as two forms that play crucial mediating roles in Maori funerary rites, both forms offering a material technology for connecting and integrating the physical and spiritual realms of the Maori universe, in which people and things merge into one another as flows pass from Te Po, the unseen generative and ancestral dimension, into to Te Ao, the seen mortal dimension. Life in the mortal dimension is but a temporary moment, when the wairua (the spirit force of all things) is bound into the tinana (the body or material substrate) by the mauri, the life force. Upon death, the mauri ceases in its binding function, the tinana breaks down and the wairua can return to Te Po.

Tangihanga (funerary) ceremonies enable the passage of the wairua from Te Ao to Te Po and woven garments and portraiture of the deceased and of recently deceased family members placed on and around the casket during the tangihanga become imbued with mana and tapu of the deceased. Like the kahu (amniotic sac) that surrounds the foetus during the precarious journey from Te Po into Te Ao when a mortal life comes into being, kahu or kakahu (garments) wrap the body of the deceased enabling the passage of the wairua to Te Po. During the proceedings chanted whakapapa (genealogy) bind everyone together, establishing a sense of whanaungatanga (relatedness), like a garment wrapped around the body, or the carvings, painting and portraits covering the 'skin' or surface of the house which is also understood as the founding ancestor's body, and ta moko ('tattoo') designs carved into human skin, these wrappings bind people together, conferring warmth and protection.

Just as Christian virtues could be inculcated through instruction in needlework and embroidery, these spiritual beliefs and the tikanga or customary philosophy of an interrelated universe can be imparted through the learning of

weaving and associated practices, as the proverb cited at the beginning of this chapter articulates. For example, the time required to weave a large garment instils a perception of time as not quantified and abstract but as belonging to the action – these things take as long as they take. Making tuku or presentations reminds the giver of the importance of fostering and maintaining connections between peoples through things. As skills and philosophies are taken up in an embodied form of practise, they in turn may be transmitted to others, forming a network or mesh of weavers and weavings, a dynamic collective oeuvre distributed in space and time. This concept, which borrows considerably from Gell (1998), is a different concept to suggesting that we trace the biographies of objects as they circulate through art world markets (Kopytoff 1986; Appadurai 1986) as this becomes divorced from the creators of works, rather than enmeshed in the relations fostered between peoples creating them.

Through the time-consuming and demanding process of acquiring weaving skills, requiring patience, commitment and plenty of time, close relationships form between teachers and apprentices. This enmeshing of weavers and their works stands apart from the experience of 'visually consuming' a weaving on display in a museum or art gallery, or actually consuming such a piece from a retail gallery or museum shop. Making things is in this sense akin to anthropological fieldwork practice in terms of a lengthy immersion, during which close personal relations are formed and through which knowledge is transmitted. Acquiring knowledge from the ancestral past in a variety of forms including weaving skills is conceived of as mahi tuku iho, knowledge handed down from ancestral forebears, and students become a vessel for containing and transmitting the skills passed on to them from many predecessors. To learn is thus a spiritual experience, receiving this knowledge a spirited gift. As each weaver acquires these skills, they become part of a living, dynamic network of people, producing woven art forms that enmesh them into a wider network of social relationships tangibly manifested as things. The weavings they make 'belong' (in the sense of emerging from, being borne of) to this entire generative dynamic network, in which each weaver has played and continues to play a constitutive role.

7.4 In touch with things

> There has been a century of selling Maori things, of taking without respect for and significant betterment for Maori, and many are protective and cynical. But if you look at our history there have always been great explorations. Looking over the horizon is not new to Maori. We should not turn inwards to always look at ourselves, but stand out in the world, and contribute to it. The knowledge Maori have contributes to the whole of human experience, and we can take that out to the world and other people can learn from us too.

Following the political unrest of the 1970s and 1980s Maori heritage, which had been claimed by the colonial state as the nation's heritage since 1901, became the subject of cultural property claims, frequently articulated through the problematic concept of discrete ethnic groups of people who create and lay claim to coherent sets of material cultures, a concept which emerged out of late nineteenth century preoccupation with the culturally different and distant, in response to conditions of industrialising modernity in which anthropology, the museum and primitivist modern art played formative roles.

As this research has demonstrated, such categorisations have been and continue to be continually contradicted and transgressed by the flux of over a century of Maori/European social and anti-social relations, out of which new art forms continually emerge. Rather than isomorphic sets of cultures and material cultures, what is perhaps far more striking is the sheer mobility and translatability of particular forms, materials, beliefs and practices: from Christian iconography, to Maori kowhaiwhai designs, to the movement of entire carved wooden villages around the world, the examples in this thesis constitute a wide variety of novel syncretic forms that have been interactively, if not equitably or amicably produced.

Through the commissioning of new works, consuming tourist arts and the collecting and preserving of these syncretic forms in museums, and in borrowing Maori design elements in settler-colonial manufactures in order to express a vicarious settler attachment to place, settlers inadvertently subverted the discourses of authenticity, distance and difference that informed ethnological collecting, anthropological study and museum display. Furthermore, as Maori calls for redress for past injustices began to take effect from around the mid 1970s, borrowed Maori designs and collections of cultural artefacts could no longer be figured nostalgically

as the remnants of a time past but became a constant reminder of enduring Maori claims to land, and of the precariousness of expressing an attachment to place through borrowed forms.

However, museum collections embody more than a cultural heritage to reclaim, they are repositories of ancestral taonga that embody a multiplicity of significances bundled up in their materiality, significances that can be realised anew in the changing social and political relations of the present. Embodying nga mahi tuku iho, the ancestral skills handed down, practising artists can take inspiration from them, acquiring new knowledge, honing their skills and passing them on to others. Two women who have been instrumental in fostering the perpetuation of Maori weaving skills for example, since the early 1950s are the late Dame Rangimarie Hetet and her daughter Diggeress Te Kanawa. Through the Maori Women's Welfare League and various subsequent weaving wananga (collective learning groups), they and other weavers have emphasised the sharing of knowledge and skills so the art form can flourish, acknowledging their distant tupuna as a source of creativity and a guiding light, as well as near relatives and other weavers for the skills and knowledge they receive, evoking a sense of a flowing mesh or network of weavers and weavings that incorporates museum collections, through which knowledge of the art flows.

In the launch material and press releases to promote the introduction of Toi Iho (the Maori Made trademark) in 2001 and in the many mixed responses to the initiative published in the national press, the existence of a collaborative trademark seemed to pass by with surprisingly little remark. Yet it is this aspect of the initiative I find most intriguing and compelling as it allows for the possibility of conceiving of objects, such as art works and images as multiply authored forms that evoke networks of relationships, problematising the kinds of assumptions conventionally made about individual authorship and hence proprietorship of art. Consider the kete muka made by weaver Valerie Parkes (figure 7.1, see also figures 6.4 and 6.5), not of Maori descent Valerie Parkes was taught to weave by Christina Hurihia Wirihana and Diggeress Te Kanawa, thus embodying the network of skills passed down through many of weavers and weavings into her kete muka. Her work can thus be considered an extension, one of many new tendrils to bud off from their collective

Figure 7.1: Kete muka by Valerie Parkes, 24cm x 18.5cm (Gift of the artist)

efforts to encourage the growth and flourishing of Maori fibre arts. Whether you consider these kete muka to be singularly or collaboratively authored work is, to borrow Strathern's (1996) term, a matter of where you cut the network. This in turn depends on where you consider the source of creative authorship to lie, and hence claims to entitlement or proprietorship.

During field trips to Aotearoa New Zealand in the late 1990s to collect new works for a Maori exhibition to be held in the British Museum in 1998, although initially interested, a decision was made not to acquire Valerie Parkes work for the collection. For me, this decision raised pertinent questions: Is a woven kete handbag made by a weaver not of Maori descent, inappropriate for display in an exhibition of Maori art and culture? If so, why? Because the weaving skills transmitted from weaver to weaver have somehow ceased to be Maori? Rather than assuming a network has been cut – an assumption informed by an unhelpful yet unfortunately persistent structuralist model of groups of people or 'societies' with discrete cultural practices who fabricate isomorphic sets of 'material cultures' reflective of their social context – I want to make an alternative suggestion: That categorisations and definitions of objects will always fail to keep pace with the dynamically materialising networks of social relations in which things are interactively enmeshed.

If we instead consider each woven form as a component in a materially externalised network of relationships, more than a post-colonial 'imagining' of possible futures, Valerie Parkes', Tina Wirihana's, and Diggeress Te Kanawa's works and the works of all the weavers they connect to manifest the exchange relationships from which they emerge and anticipate the future works that the passing on of their skills shall foster. Whereas post-colonial discourse has tended to split debates to do with colonial histories of encounter, exchange and moments of dispossession and reclamation into polarised 'settler-coloniser' and 'indigenous-colonised' camps, conceiving of artworks in this manner suggests that objects can be socially interactive and transformative of social relations, mediating relationships between peoples, places and times and bringing us more in touch with things.

GLOSSARY OF MAORI TERMS

MAORI	ENGLISH[1]
ahi ka	continual occupation (figuratively, fires burning)
atamira	small wooden structure that housed the deceased
awhi	embrace
harakeke	flax
haere kai	delivery of a meal
haere mai	welcome
haka	posture dance
hakari	elaborate meal
hangi	steam ovens
hapu	pregnant, and descent grouping
harakeke	flax
hariru	clasp hands
hau	breath, essential life force
hei tiki	anthropomorphic neck pendant, often made from pounamu (nephrite)
hine	girl, young woman
hongi	press noses
huia	indigenous bird with highly prized feathers (now extinct)
hui	ceremonial gathering, meeting
ihi	shudder, awe-inspiring power, tremble
iwi	descent grouping
kahu	garment, or amniotic membrane
kai	food, to eat
kai karanga	woman performing karanga
kaimoana	shellfish
kainga	home, settlement
kaitaka	finely woven cloak from muka (processed flax)
kakaho	indigenous species of reed
kakahu	woven garments
kapa haka	competitive performing arts
karakia	prayer
karanga	women's ceremonial call
karangamaha	to interconnect genealogically with other descent lines
kaumatua	elders
kawa	protocol

[1] These translations are compiled by the author from experience, and checked with Williams's dictionary (1917) [1844] for late nineteenth and early twentieth century translations, and with Ngata (1994) and Ryan (1999) for current usages.

kawe mate	carrying the dead
kete	woven bag or basket
kete whakairo	patterned finely plaited flax bag
kia ora	to your health
kiekie	indigenous species of climbing plant
koha	gift or donation, contribution
kohatu	large flat stones heated by steam
kokowai	red ochre
koromatua	eponymous ancestor, founder of descent group
koroua	male elder
koru	spiral pattern
koruru	ancestral face
Kotahitanga	Maori parliament
kotuku	white heron
kowhaiwhai	Scrollwork designs, painted on canoes, meetinghouses and other constructions
kuia	women elders
kupapa	descent groups considered politically 'friendly' by colonial authorities
kuri	indigenous species of dog
kuwaha	carved ancestral gateways into pa (fortified settlements)
mahi tuku iho	skills and knowledge handed down from ancestors
maihi	gables (of a meetinghouse or other architectural structure)
mana	ancestral standing, efficacy and well-being
manaakitanga	hospitality
mango	A great shark
mangopare	hammerhead shark
manuhiri	visitors
marae	ceremonial ground or courtyard
marae-atea	ceremonial ground or courtyard
maro	girdle or apron
maro kapua	aprons worn by women of high rank
mauri	mystical essence, ethos
mere	short handheld weapon, of wood stone or bone
mihimihi	greetings
moko	facial 'tattoo'
moko kauwae	women's chin and lip 'tattoo'
moko mokai	'tattooed', preserved heads
mokopuna	grandchild
moteatea	ancient sung and chanted compositions belonging to a descent group
muka	finely processed linen-like flax fibre
muka pari	women's bodice woven from muka
muru	removal of property by injured party in return for insult or offence
mutu	end, finish
ngawha	hot springs
ngeri	vigorous posture dance of defiance

ngore	pompom attached to cloaks
niho taniwha	shark teeth
noa	profane
nohotuturu	continual occupation
pa	fortified or formerly fortified settlement
pakeha	settler, person of European descent, non-Maori
pakete whero	red scarf worn by Maori Guides at Whakarewarewa
paraoa	whalebone
pare	headband
paru	mud used to dye flax a shiny brown/black colour
pataka	storehouse for food and other valuables
patere	chant, often abusive or derisive
patu	short handheld weapon, of wood stone or bone
patu pounamu	handheld weapon made from nephrite or greenstone
pito	umbilical cord, afterbirth, buried in ancestral land after birth
piupiu	flax kilts
poi	balls suspended on cords, twirled rhythmically during poi dance
poroporoaki	farewell ceremony of speeches and song
pounamu	nephrite, greenstone
poupou	carved interior wall panels in meetinghouses
powhiri	ceremonial welcome
puhi	high-ranking women
puhoro	thigh and buttock 'tattoo' designs
pukana	Facial expression in which the mouth is upturned and eyes rolled down and side to side
puremu	adultery
purerehua	butterfly
rahui	restricted area, area under tapu (prohibition)
rangatira	high-born, leader of a descent group
rangi	sky or heavens
raupatu	government confiscation of Maori lands from 'rebel' descent groups
raupo	bullrush
rohe	descent group region
roimata toroa	albatross tears
roopu	performing arts group
rourou	food basket
ta moko	tattooing designs
taiaha	long handled weapon
take (tupuna)	right, entitlement, claim
tangata	people
tangata whenua	host people, people of the land, descent group on their ancestral lands
tangi	to weep
tangi apakura	lament
tangihanga	funerary ceremonies
taniko	finely woven patterned border
taonga	treasured ancestral heirloom, valuable person or thing

tapu	sacred, prohibited, spiritually potent
tapu urupa	sacred burial grounds
taua	armed party
taua puremu	war party seeking return for the offence of adultery
te hau	vital essence or breath
te hongi	the pressing of noses
te mauri	life principle
tekoteko	ancestor figure
tewhatewha	long-handled wooden weapon
tika	correct
tikanga	customary philosophy
tinana	physical body
wairua	spirit force

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AIM MS: Auckland Institute and Museum Manuscript

ATL MS: Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript

BL MS: British Library Manuscript

NA MS: National Archives Manuscript

PRM MS: Pitt Rivers Museum Manuscript

RM MS: Te Whare Taonga o te Arawa Rotorua Museum Manuscript

Rotorua Minute Books, Native Land Court Records, Auckland University and in the Rotorua District Land Court Office

Archival Collections

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Auckland Institute and Museum, Auckland

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